The Life of
ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

by

CRISÓGONO DE JESUS, O.C.D.

Translated by Kathleen Pond

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FOREWORD

ST JOHN of the Cross needs no introduction for English-speaking readers. The scholarly work of the late Professor Allison Peers has made his works available in a definitive edition which is widely read, both for its intrinsic value as a guide to spirituality and as material of primary importance for the study of mysticism. The poetry has, in addition, been translated by the late Roy Campbell. Moreover the works of St John of the Cross have their appointed place in Spanish studies at the universities.

Father Benedict Zimmerman's translation of the life by Père Bruno de Jésus Marie OCD appeared over twenty years ago — in 1936, and since then a good deal of unpublished manuscript material relating to St John of the Cross has come to light. The late Padre Crisógono OCD has placed scholars in his debt by incorporating this material in the full-length biography with which he prefaced his edition of the saint's works and it is this biography which is here offered to the English public in translation.

Padre Crisógono was born in Villamorisca in the Province of León in 1904. He made his simple profession as a Carmelite in 1920 at Segovia before the tomb of St John of the Cross whose works he read more than sixty times. Ávila was the scene of his philosophical training and Toledo of his studies in theology. Even at this early stage his exceptional mind and literary gifts were obvious. His great work: *San Juan de la Cruz: su obra científica y su obra literaria* was published in 1929. Destined for the teaching of philosophy, he went to Madrid in 1930, and was then sent by his superiors to Louvain for higher studies, during which period he perfected his knowledge of French and German by a stay in each of those countries.

Between 1932 and 1940 Padre Crisógono was professor of dogmatic and mystical theology at the Carmelite house in Salamanca. In 1935 appeared *San Juan de la Cruz: el hombre, el doctor, el poeta* and *Santa Teresa de Jesús: su vida, y su doctrina* which has been translated into English.

During the Spanish civil war of 1936–9, Padre Crisógono escaped from the Communist zone and was thus able to continue his academic work. In 1939 he published *Doctrina de Santa Teresa* and in 1941 *Grandeza, ruina y resurgimiento de España*, as well as simple and popular biographies of St Teresa, St John of the Cross and St Teresa of the Child Jesus. In 1941 also he founded the *Revista de Espiritualidad.* This scholarly review is devoted to the study of asceticism and mysticism in general, and in particular it has the aim of diffusing the traditional spiritual riches of Spain and of the Carmelite Order.

The few works mentioned here give no proper indication of Padre Crisógono's literary output, which was very considerable; a complete list will be found elsewhere in this book. His writings and scholarship made him very widely known throughout Spain and to this was added a modesty and personal charm for which he was held in great affection.

There was therefore deep and widespread consternation at the news of his sudden death which occurred at Ursubil in the province of Guipuzcoa on March 5th, 1945.[1]

The day before his death, a decree was signed in Madrid awarding him the prize for the best biography of St John of the Cross presented during the Centenary celebrations — the work of which this book is the translation. At the time Padre Crisógono was planning a most important work on the history of Spanish philosophy and also a *Crítica del escolasticismo*. His early death was an immense blow to Spanish literature and scholarship and the void he left has not been filled.

The Spanish edition of this life of St John of the Cross contains an extremely valuable critical apparatus in the way of detailed footnotes, mostly quotations from manuscripts, which for reasons of space it has not been possible to reproduce here in full. It was felt that in any event scholars would wish to consult the Spanish edition (Crisógono de Jesús OCD, *San Juan de la Cruz, Vida y Obras*, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, ed. 3a., Madrid, 1955), and that an accumulation of footnotes would prove wearisome to the general reader and would detract from the readableness of the book. Such footnotes from the Spanish text as were deemed

[1] His death was caused by an injection he received there which was not only infected but over strong as well. Penicillin could have saved him — but its use in Spain was only just beginning. Supplies had to be sent for to Madrid, and in spite of special transport provided by the government, they arrived some hours too late.

either indispensable or of special interest have been included, though in practically every case they have been adapted or abbreviated. The rest have been either omitted altogether or incorporated in the text. References, however, have been given and will be found at the end of the book. Again for considerations of space, it has only been possible to quote the number of the MS. or title of work without the comments. Titles of works well-known in their English translation, such as the *Letters of St Teresa*, have been given in English, and although numbers of volumes refer to the Spanish edition, it will be found that the numbers of letters correspond to those (as distinct from serial numbers) in Allison Peers' translation. Notes in square brackets have been added by the translator. The few proper names already well-known to English readers, such as St Teresa, have been given in their English dress, other names are in the original Spanish. Except where his Spanish title was obviously required by the circumstances of the text, St John of the Cross is referred to as John of Yepes, Fray John, or Fray John of the Cross.

It now remains for me to express my gratitude to those friends who have helped me with this book — Rev. Gervase Mathew O.P. for advice and encouragement, Very Rev. Ambrose Farrell O.P. for help with two difficult passages, Mr Justin Gosling for help with the proofs, Mr Michael Fisher for reading my manuscript, and my typist, Miss Parker, by whom I have been excellently served.

KATHLEEN POND

OXFORD, 1958

CONTENTS

Chapter *page*

FOREWORD v

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS (including map) xiii

CHRONOLOGY xv

1. THE BEGINNINGS 1

The Yepes family — Fontiveros — Catalina Álvarez — Births of Francisco, Luis and Juan — Death of Gonzalo de Yepes — Economic difficulties — Unsuccessful visit to Torrijos — Gálvez — Incident at the pool of Fontiveros — Move to Arévalo, Francisco's conversion and marriage.

2. FIRST STUDIES 9

Medina del Campo — The Doctrine School — The Magdalena convent — Fall into the well — The Plague Hospital — Studies in the Jesuit College — Francisco's family.

3. FRAY JUAN DE SANTO MATÍA 20

The Carmelite monastery at Medina — John de Yepes' vocation — studies — profession — observance of the Order's Primitive Rule.

4. SALAMANCA UNIVERSITY 26

The Carmelite College of San Andrés — the discipline — Matriculation — Professors and students — University life — Lectures — the different Faculties — the teachings of John Baconthorp — Fray John's first interest in mystical writers — his austere life.

5. THE REFORM OF CARMEL 41

Madre Teresa's visit to Medina — the reform of the friars projected — Fray Antonio de Heredia — The Madre meets Fray Juan — the foundation of Duruelo decided — Fray Juan in Valladolid — the beginnings at Duruelo — life in the first monastery of the Reform — the Provincial's visit — Mancera.

6. FATHER-MASTER OF THE DISCALCED 57

The Mancera community — Pastrana founded — organizes the novitiate there — Alba de Tormes — Rector of the Carmelite college in Alcalá — the university there — the friar's edifying life — the Apostolic Commissioner's approval — trouble in Pastrana.

Chapter *page*

7. Ávila of the Knights 68

Madre Teresa prioress of the Incarnation convent — the troubles — her successful rule — Fray John of the Cross appointed confessor — the change in the nuns — the cottage in the garden — an attack on Fray John — his gentleness and kindness — María de Yera's death — Leonor de Cepeda — Fray John's drawing of the dead Christ — his relations with Madre Teresa — her mystical marriage — Fray John's ecstasy — exorcisms — Isabel de San Jerónimo — Catalina Álvarez — the nuns' foundation in Segovia — trouble with the Vicar-General.

8. Strife amongst Brethren 87

Growing dissatisfaction of the Calced friars — the Apostolic Visitors — the Brief *Pro liberandis . . .* — *reformadores* appointed by Ormaneto — Rubeo's letter — the Piacenza Chapter — Tostado — the Discalced Chapter at Almodóvar — the embassy to Rome — Fray John and his companion taken by force by the Calced friars as prisoners to Medina — their release — the Almódovar decisions not given effect — a mystical contest — Ormaneto's death — Fray John and Padre Germán imprisoned — Madre Teresa's letter to the King.

9. Prison Walls 100

Toledo — Acts of the Piacenza Chapter — Fray John's position — his firm attitude — flattery and threats — his close confinement — his sufferings — St Teresa's anxiety — a more compassionate warder — Tostado's enmity towards the Discalced — Fray John's escape.

10. In the Segura Sierra 118

A Discalced Chapter in Almódovar — its legal status — its resolutions — the Madre opposes the Rome embassy — two fathers leave for Rome — unsuccessful negotiations with Sega — Fray John Superior of El Calvario — the journey — La Peñuela — Beas — El Calvario — its excessive severity moderated — life in the monastery — the community's friends — Fray Juan's visits to Beas — Catalina de la Cruz — Catalina de San Alberto — the Ascent of Mount Carmel design — a prophecy of better days — Iznatorafe.

11. Rector of Baeza 141

The Baeza foundation — a haunted house — the university — the Discalced friars' studies there — their exemplary life — Fray John's teaching — Juan de San Pablo — humble tasks — recreation — the sick — death of Catalina Álvarez.

12. Guide of Souls 152

Baeza's spirit of religion — Fray John's spiritual disciples — his direction of women — María de Vilches — María de la Paz — Justa de la Paz — Domingo de Sotomayor — Juana Calancha — the nuns at Beas — visit to La Peñuela — the nuns of Sabiote — Caravaca — the peace of Santisteban — Catalina de Jesús.

Chapter *page*

13. Two Journeys to Castile 169

The Brief of Separation — circumstances that led up to it — the Discalced chapter at Alcalá de Henares — the celebrations — visit to Caravaca — journey to Ávila — the nuns' foundation in Granada.

14. Prior of Los Mártires 184

The monastery — the novices — vocation of Fray Alonso de la Madre de Díos — Fray Juan Evangelista — St Joseph — Fray John's fatherly rule — the recreation — feast-days — tenderness to the sick — Chapter of Almodóvar — visits to secular persons — Gracián criticized.

15. Master of Souls in Granada 204

Fray John's apostolate — Juana de Pedraza — charity to the poor — alterations in the monastery — a portrait of Fray John — — the nuns' convent — Ana de Jesús — María Machuca — Isabel de la Encarnación — Augustina de San José — Fray John's other activities.

16. The Writings 220

Early compositions — the *Cautelas* — *Spiritual Canticle* — *Ascent of Mount Carmel* — *Dark Night of the Soul* — *Living Flame of Love* — other writings — influences.

17. Journeyings in Andalusia 228

Lisbon — the Chapter — Padre Doria's election — María de la Visitación — Málaga — María de Cristo — Caravaca — Baeza — Pastrana — Padre Doria and 'strict observance' — PP. Diego Evangelista and Francisco Crisóstomo — Fray John's way of travelling — his spirit of penance — Bujalance — Benalúa — an innkeeper's dying son — Brother Pedro's broken leg — foundation in Córdoba — Seville and the nuns — Fray John's illness in Guadalcázar — transfer of novices to Seville — the collapsing wall — Madrid and the meeting of diffinitors — the decisions taken — Malagón — foundation of La Manchuela — Granada again — the Caravaca foundation — Beas — Bujalance — Madrid — Baeza — the Valladolid Chapter — note on the journey from Granada to Madrid.

18. Return to Castile 250

Prior of Segovia — the monastery there — the Consulta — building work on the monastery — purchase of additional land — Fray John's prayer — assignations made — the nuns — work of the Consulta — his government of the monastery — spiritual direction — Ana de Peñalosa and her niece — Ángela de Alemán — Francisco de Urueña — Antón de la Bermeja — confessor to the nuns — Mariana de la Cruz — Isabel de Jesús — Beatriz del Sacramento — the value of suffering — visit of Francisco de Yepes.

Chapter *page*

19. THE SOLITUDE OF THE SIERRA MORENA 270

The Madrid Chapter — differences with Padre Doria — the nuns' difficulties — Gracián — Fray John without office — Mexico — Andalusia — the nuns' grief — P. Diego Evangelista's persecution — Ana de Peñalosa — farewells — La Peñuela — the fire — further persecution by P. Diego — illness — move to Ubeda.

20. MATINS IN HEAVEN 289

Journey to Ubeda — the asparagus incident — unfriendliness of Fray Francisco Crisóstomo — erysipelas diagnosed — the leg lanced and cauterized — Catalina and Inés de Salazar — the Ortega Cabrio family — visits from friends — the Provincial rebukes Fray Francisco Cristóstomo — his visits — Viaticum — Matins in heaven — note on the Prior of Ubeda.

21. PORTRAIT OF ST JOHN OF THE CROSS 306

Eliseo de los Mártires' description — early portraits — his physical appearance — his serenity and simplicity — his kindness — his moral portrait shown in his writings.

NOTE OF THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS USED 314

NOTES 319

REFERENCES 346

INDEX OF PERSONS 389

INDEX OF PLACES 397

ILLUSTRATIONS

	facing page
Arévalo	32
Medina del Campo	33
Salamanca. The main entrance to the University	48
Salamanca. A lecture hall in the University	49
Medina del Campo. The parlour of the Carmelite Convent	49
Duruelo	112
Pastrana	113
Alcalá	113
Alcalá. The Festival Room	128
Toledo. Puerto de Alfonso VI	129
Statue of St. John of the Cross	192
Document in St. John's handwriting	193
Ávila. View of the town	208
Ávila. Convent of the Incarnation	208
St. Teresa of Ávila	209
Córdoba. Capilla de Villaviciosa	256
Segovia. The Cathedral	257
Valladolid. Courtyard of St. Gregory's College	272
Segovia. The Aqueduct	273

Photographs facing pages 33, 49 (lower), 112, 113 (upper), 208 (lower) are by Yvonne Chevalier; facing pages 32, 48, 49 (upper), 113 (lower), 128, 129, 208 (upper), 257, 272, 273 by Leonard von Matt; and facing page 256 by A. F. Kersting. The illustrations facing pages 192 and 193 are reproduced by permission of La Editorial Catolica, S.A. Madrid and that facing page 209 by permission of the Mayor of Ávila.

CHRONOLOGY

of the Chief Events in the
Life of St. John of the Cross

1542. Born at Fontiveros (Ávila).

1563. Received the Carmelite habit at Medina del Campo.

1567. Ordained priest at Salamanca.

1568, 28 November. Beginnings of the Reform at Duruelo (Ávila).

1571, April. Rector of Alcalá.

1572–76. Confessor at the Incarnation (Ávila).

1577, 2 December to August 1578. Imprisonment in Ávila and Toledo.

1578, October to 1579. Prior of El Calvario.

1579–82. Founder and Rector of Baeza.

1582, January to 1585. Prior of Granada.

1585, 11 May to 1587. Provincial Diffinitor.

1585, 17 October to 1587, 18 April. Vicar Provincial of Andalusia.

1587, April to 1588. Prior of Granada.

1588, June to 1591, June. Councillor General and Prior of Segovia.

1591, 14 December. Died in Ubeda (Jaén).

1593, May. Translation of body to Segovia.

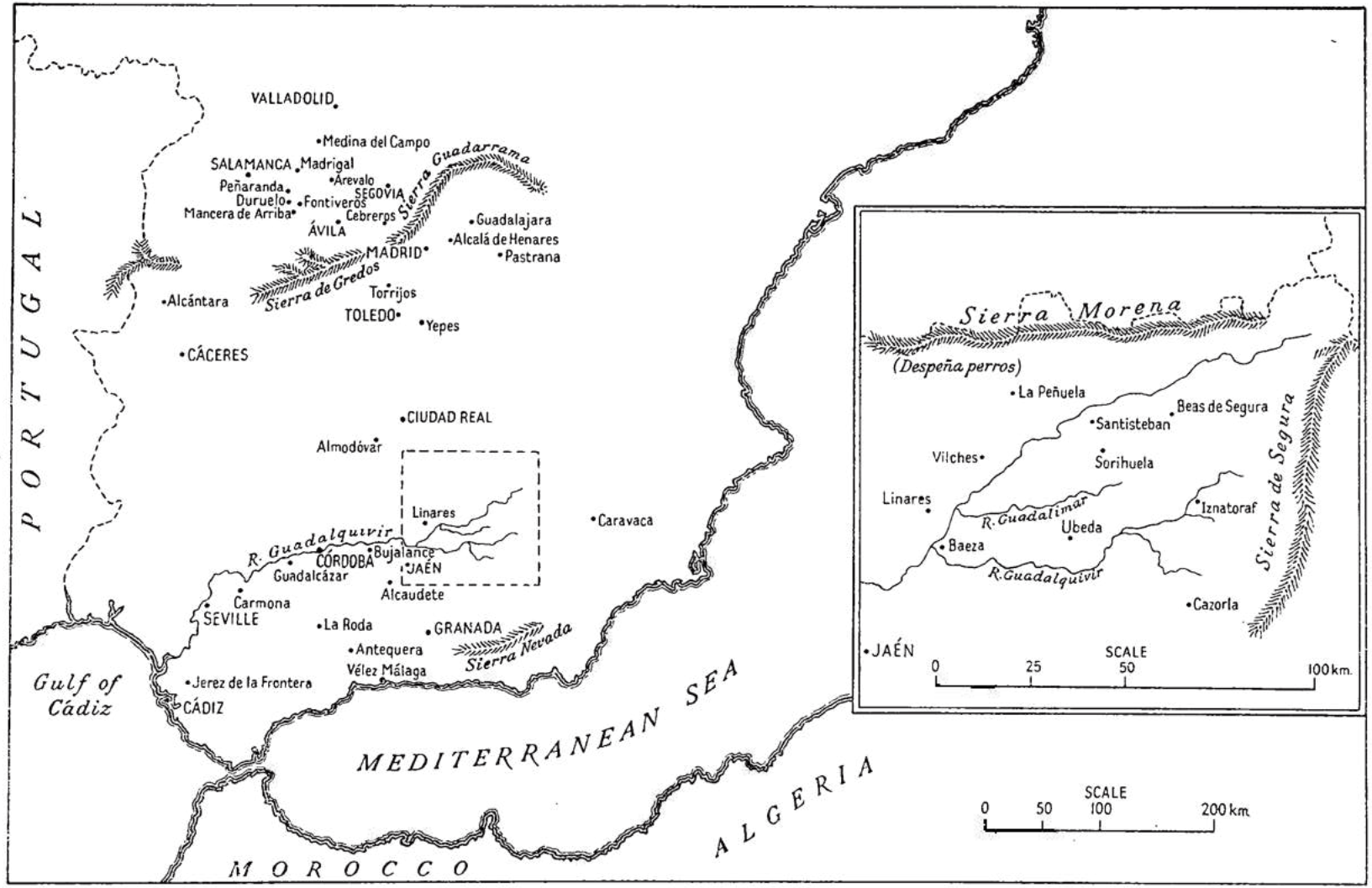
1675, 25 January. Beatified by Clement X.

1726, 26 December. Canonized by Benedict XIII.

1926, 24 August. Declared Doctor of the Church by Pius XI.

1927, 11 October. Actual resting-place Segovia.

1952, 21 March. Named patron of Spanish poets.


VALLADOLID
Medina del Campo
SALAMANCA
Madrigal
Arevalo
Peñaranda
SEGOVIA
Sierra Guadarrama
Duruelo
Fontiveros
Mancera de Arriba
Cebreros
ÁVILA
Guadalajara
Alcalá de Henares
MADRID
Pastrana
Sierra de Gredos
Torrijos
Alcántara
TOLEDO
Yepes
CÁCERES
CIUDAD REAL
Almodóvar
Linares
Caravaca
R. Guadalquivir
CÓRDOBA
Bujalance
JAÉN
Guadalcázar
Alcaudete
Carmona
SEVILLE
La Roda
GRANADA
Sierra Nevada
Antequera
Vélez Málaga
Jerez de la Frontera
CÁDIZ
Gulf of Cádiz
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
SCALE
0 50 100 200 km
Sierra Morena
(Despeña perros)
La Peñuela
Beas de Segura
Santisteban
Vilches
Sorihuela
Linares
R. Guadalimar
Iznatoraf
Ubeda
Baeza
R. Guadalquivir
Sierra de Segura
Cazorla
JAÉN
SCALE
0 25 50 100 km.

1

THE BEGINNINGS

MID-CASTILE, around the middle of the sixteenth century. Along roads that eventually met, dotted with inns and lodgings of a humbler sort for man and beast, muleteers, merchants and traders from every part of Spain were travelling to the fairs at Medina del Campo. There were merchants from Catalonia with cloth and coral, men of Valencia trading embroidered silks and spices; from Córdoba was brought leather, goffered or embossed, and buttons; from Seville the wares were soap and sugar, while from Toledo came the silk merchants.

Among the latter was Gonzalo de Yepes, who was then young. The son of noble parents, both dead, he could list in his genealogical tree illustrious names in both military and learned circles. They all came from Yepes, an old town perched on the extreme western edge of the Ocaña plateau, a full eighteen miles east of Toledo.[1] At this time, some of Gonzalo's uncles were engaged in business as silk merchants. They were of independent means, and he looked after their business and kept their accounts.[2] This meant that he frequently travelled up to the Medina fairs. In those days the route from Toledo to Medina passed through Escalona, a walled town on the banks of the Alberche, through Venta de los Toros de Guisando, where Isabel the Catholic was proclaimed queen of Castile in 1468, through Cebreros, Ávila and Madrigal. . . .[3] Gonzalo de Yepes usually stopped in Fontiveros, some thirty miles distant from Medina.

Fontiveros was then a town of five thousand inhabitants. Situated on the top of the Castilian plateau amid the flat tilled fields, its luminous horizons, broken only in the distant south by the greyish outline of the Sierra de Gredos, which was sometimes white with snow, seemed to stretch to infinity. The place lies some twenty-four miles to the north-west of Ávila, between Arévalo, Madrigal and Peñaranda. To-day it has only 1,400 inhabi-

tants. It was then a typical Castilian town with its houses of stone and clay, its flat but winding streets, large parish church, convent of nuns and its hermitages. It derived its livelihood almost exclusively from tilling the soil, with scarcely any industry except a few humble weaving shops for bombazine-silk twill.

Young Gonzalo de Yepes used to stop at one of these shops on his way to the fairs at Medina del Campo. It belonged to a widow whose name we do not know, but who also made journeys to Toledo for her silk business. There Gonzalo and his relatives got to know her. It was probably they who let her have silks for her small business. With the widow lived a girl who also worked at the loom. Catalina Álvarez was a young, good-looking Toledan whose parents were dead and who was without fortune. The generous-hearted widow brought her from the imperial city and took her into her home and workshop at Fontiveros. Catalina was poor, but beautiful. Her bearing was distinguished. Most important of all, she was good. Gonzalo de Yepes fell in love with her. He bridged the differences of birth and position between the two of them. He paid no heed to the remonstrances of the widow, who, knowing young Yepes' parents, put before him the trouble he was likely to be storing up for himself — and married Catalina Álvarez. This took place at latest during the year 1529.[4]

The fears of the widow at the weaving shop were soon realized. Gonzalo's rich uncles, proud of their name and their position in the world, cursed and repudiated their nephew's decision, as a thing of shame. From that moment they refused to have anything to do with him. Such action practically amounted to leaving him in the street. It did not matter to him, however. Still young, able to handle a pen, versed in drawing up contracts and in writing the credit entries in his uncles' account books, he purposed to use this ability to solve the economic problems of his new home forthwith. Unfortunately, the meagre business that existed in the town did not allow of this. Gonzalo found himself forced to learn Catalina's trade, and the young married couple remained in the house and weaving shop of the widow until she died.

In 1530, they were living in a street which cut through the town from south to north, known as the Calle de Cantiveros, for it ran out towards the muddy road leading to the small neighbouring village of that name. In that house and in the year 1530, their first child, Francisco, was born.[5] The second son, whose date of birth is unknown, though it must have been between 1531 and

1541, was called Luis. The third and last was John, who was born in the year 1542.[6] He first saw the light in surroundings of poverty and hard work. The house was humble, its furniture, such as there was, plain, the food none too plentiful. The children could not even eat their fill of wheaten bread, for often enough only barley bread appeared on the family table, and even of that there was not always sufficient to go round.

A short time after the birth of John, a painful illness, lasting two years, gradually destroyed the life of his father, Gonzalo de Yepes, who died worn out by long and terrible suffering. The slender resources of the household died with him.[7] A life the tragedy of which would last for a long time was to begin for his widow and children. Catalina Álvarez was left alone with no one to protect her, and without means of support for the upbringing of her sons, who were all small. Francisco, the eldest, was then about thirteen. John was probably no more than a few months old. Moreover, those were barren years in Castile, to such an extent that 'bread was not to be had for any money'. Some years later Philip II drew attention to the wretched plight of many of his subjects in a proclamation on the price of bread in which he said:

> Know that the barrenness of recent years and the large number of people there are in our realms . . . has been the reason why the price and value of all things necessary to men's subsistence is so high, and why those who are poor and indigent suffer so much toil and sweat and cannot live or subsist without great difficulty. And we are informed that for these reasons, and because of the great cost and expense which is increasing, the husbandmen who till the earth and sow it and all other persons who have farms and land to sow and plough and who earn their living by such work and employment, are leaving it. For which cause there is such a shortage of bread throughout the whole of these our realms, that it is almost universal and in many parts of them for some years past people have been suffering hunger and want.[8]

Acute poverty began to press on mother and children like a halter, and Gonzalo de Yepes' poor widow decided to leave Fontiveros and seek help for her children. To this course she was advised by her neighbours who could see the tragedy of this home so prematurely broken up. A considerable distance away, in the province of Toledo, Gonzalo's relatives, who possessed some property, were still living. One brother was archdeacon of the im-

portant collegiate church at Torrijos, founded in 1509 by doña Teresa Enríquez, known as 'devoted to the Sacrament to the point of madness'; another brother was a doctor in Gálvez. Thus both were uncles of the poor orphans. Although they had been angry with Gonzalo for marrying beneath his station and against their wishes, now he was dead and they saw the mother's distress and the innocent misfortune of those children, who were their nephews, would they not relent and make themselves responsible for at least one of them?

With this fond hope, Catalina set out upon the journey to the province of Toledo. The way was long, more than a hundred miles, over rough fields, gullies and mountainous districts. Without money, hampered by the presence of her children, the youngest of whom, John, she had to carry in her arms, we know that Catalina suffered great hardships and difficulties. Perhaps they were obliged to beg from inn to inn. They passed through the walls and entered Torrijos by the Maqueda gate, after crossing the last olive groves and leaving the hill of the *Mora Encantada*, from which there are splendid views to the south over the rich open plains of the Tagus on the left. Torrijos was in the hey-day of its splendour. The town had been made wealthy by the numerous religious and charitable foundations of doña Teresa, who was first cousin of Ferdinand the Catholic. There was her palace, standing to the north of the market place and near it the collegiate church, the building of which was finished in 1518, with its wonderful west doorway in plateresque style, its three gothic naves, fourteen grouped pilasters, carved choir-stalls, and its precious altar-piece rich enough for a cathedral. There, too, were the great Conception convent which doña Teresa had built on the site of the old palace of the Kings of Castile, and the monastery of St Francis with which she tried to rival that of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo.[9]

Catalina made herself known to the archdeacon and asked help for her little ones. But with a cruel and unmistakeably plain negative from the rich ecclesiastic, the widow and her children with their half-starved, careworn faces were shown the door. They were faced with a fresh journey of twenty miles or more towards the south, to Gálvez, situated on a rich plain, twenty miles south-west of Toledo. The doctor, whose name, like that of his youngest nephew, was Juan de Yepes, received Catalina and her children kindly. The poor widow began to breathe more freely.

They stayed some little time in Gálvez, resting after the journey, and were well treated and looked after by the doctor, who, moreover, promised that the eldest boy should remain with and be brought up by him. Don Juan de Yepes had no heirs. He would therefore make himself responsible for Francisco's studies and would make him eventual heir to his fortune.[10] Francisco, then, was settled. The mother took Luis and John, again carrying the latter in her arms, and set out on the return journey to Fontiveros, once more traversing the hundred and more miles on foot, to resume her weaving work in her humble little home.

A year thus passed. Francisco began to grow tired of Gálvez. He was not so happy there as his mother and his uncle, Juan de Yepes, had imagined he would be, though neither the former nor the latter knew anything about it. The doctor's wife was filling her nephew's days and nights with bitterness. Against her husband's orders, and concealing from him what she was doing, instead of sending Catalina Álvarez' son to school, she kept him at home, employed him in menial tasks and kept him hungry. She even ill-treated him. Francisco wept in secret, yearning for the affection of his mother's home even if he must go hungry there.

His mother was worried, for since her return from Gálvez she had had no news, and was without means of obtaining any. Accordingly she decided to make the difficult, tiring journey once more, and thus arrived unexpectedly one day at don Juan de Yepes' house. When Francisco found himself alone in his mother's arms, he told her tearfully what he was having to put up with, the ill treatment he received from his aunt, how much he had wept since he had been there. . . . The poor widow, without even listening to the insistent protests of the doctor who promised and assured her that there should be a change in the treatment his nephew was receiving in his house, took him back with her to Fontiveros. The first thing she did was to send him to school. Francisco, however, made little or no progress. He was backward, a failure, perhaps, so far as schooling was concerned, for he was fifteen and could not read or write. Catalina Álvarez saw his lack of ability for studies and, taking him away from school, taught him to weave in her workshop. This was to be his job all through his life. In the meantime, Luis and John began to go to school.[11]

At that time an event took place, the extraordinary character of which, though unnoticed by those who were present, was years later to throw light on the real John de Yepes who had by then

become Fray John of the Cross. The children of Fontiveros were playing round a marshy pond, like those to be found on the outskirts of so many villages in Castille. Among the children was the youngest son of Catalina Álvarez, the weaver. Going up to the edge of the pond, they hurled some sticks perpendicularly into the water, catching them as they came up to the surface again. John bent down to catch his, but his little body overbalanced, he fell into the water and sank to the bottom of the pool. His hands touched the mud. He floated up to the surface, but sank again; 'and he saw standing there a very beautiful lady who asked for his hand and stretched out her own. He did not want to take it lest he should make it dirty; a labourer then came on the scene and with a goad he was carrying hoisted him up and drew him out.' That was how Fray John of the Cross told the story a few years before his death, when, in Andalusia, he came upon a marshy pond which reminded him of the incident at the pool of Fontiveros.[12]

About this time Luis died, perhaps as a result of insufficient nourishment.[13] Catalina struggled heroically to save her family from destitution but all she succeeded in doing was to prolong her children's hunger. Fontiveros could not provide them with a means of livelihood. In the end Gonzalo de Yepes' poor widow had to abandon her little home altogether and move to Arévalo in search of work which would enable her to feed the two children left to her. The journey was not long — twenty miles or so to the north-west over level roads, which stretched out over arable land with brownish fields, cut across by shallow streams and dotted with dark-green patches of pine and poplar. It was the year 1548. John was already a full six years old. Leaving Fontiveros could not be otherwise than painful for the mother — she had lived there for some twenty years, and those the best years of her life. It was the setting of her youth, her courtship with Gonzalo, her wedding, the beginnings of her home. . . . She was leaving it all behind — the little house where her children were born, her loom, above all the resting place of her dead husband. . . .

Arévalo stands on the highest part of the central plateau of Castile. Stretching out pleasantly along the waters of the Adaja and the Arevalillo, two silvery arms, as it were, which come from the south and join to the north of the town, it looks like some ancient royal borough of Castile, with its ruined walls, its twenty odd churches and monasteries and its stout castle built on the

rock overlooking the meeting place of the two rivers. There was the palace which, up to a few years before the time of which we are writing, had been for centuries the abode of queens and princesses — the residence of doña María, first wife of don Juan II, of doña Isabel, mother of Prince Alfonso, who was crowned in Ávila as a child — above all, the residence of doña Isabel the Catholic, who spent the years of her childhood and youth there.

By this time, the middle of the sixteenth century, the splendour of Arévalo had considerably diminished, but it still retained some commercial importance. Its geographical situation, which meant that merchants coming from the south and east with their merchandise to the fairs of Medina del Campo were obliged to pass through it, gave it a certain activity sufficient to maintain its small industries. As in Fontiveros, there were weaving shops for bombazine. In one of them Catalina Álvarez and Francisco, her eldest son, began to work as wage-earners hired by the day.

No details of John's life in Arévalo are known — all the facts that have come down to us relate to Francisco, but they are of interest for the present account of St John of the Cross, because they serve to show the setting in which these years of the future Doctor of the Church were spent.

When the Yepes family arrived at Arévalo, Francisco was already a youth of about twenty. Of kindly disposition, gentle, but gay, he joined with his companions in boyish pranks and merriment and was sometimes carried away by them. He could sing, pluck the guitar and dance. His natural simplicity made him in some small degree the sport of friends who were not so well-meaning. He used to go round the streets with them at night playing and singing noisy serenades; he took part with his comrades in the destruction of fruit in the orchards and of vines and crops. He even spent the whole night out. There were times when instead of going home to sleep, doubtless because of the late hour at which the merry-making ended, he lay down with the sacristans upon the church carpets.

One of these mischievous expeditions soon caused a complete change in his outlook and conduct. One day, having been invited by his friends to go and enjoy himself in an orchard where there were almond trees laden with fruit, he accepted and went off with the other youths to satisfy his hunger in the almond grove which belonged to someone else. On tasting the almonds the youths found them bitter. But it made no difference. They merrily

went on eating and destroying in the heedlessness of their malevolent amusement. When they returned to the town, Francisco felt the first pangs of remorse for his evil deed and went off to kneel at the feet of a priest, asking for absolution for his sin. The priest was Padre Carrillo, incumbent of one of the churches of Arévalo, a good man, devoted to prayer and zealous for the good of souls. The priest weighed up the gravity of the evil deed, and Francisco de Yepes, sincerely repentant, decided to break with the friendships that were dragging him down.

He changed his life. From this moment he ceased to be a gadabout. At night when his work at the loom was finished, instead of going through the streets singing and playing the guitar with the other youths, he went to Padre Carrillo, to be instructed about the way to heaven. At other times, in fine weather, he went out into the country, and in the orchards and vineyards where he had formerly made merry with his friends, he gave himself to prayer and took the discipline. If it were bad weather he would retire to some church or set himself to collect poor people from the streets and take them to his house, where they were charitably looked after.

Francisco was friendly with a girl whose name was Ana Izquierdo. She was a good girl of humble station in life from Muriel, a small village about ten miles north-west of Arévalo. He married her. From then onwards, Ana Izquierdo, now part of the Yepes family, was Catalina Álvarez' constant companion. We even find her in Duruelo. She learned to weave silk like Francisco and his mother and helped them with her daily labour. We know that when Francisco on winter nights, those bleak nights of terrible frost in the region around Ávila, brought home some poor man he had picked up in the street, Ana Izquierdo looked after him and received him with loving-kindness.

In this setting and amongst scenes such as these John de Yepes lived for three years in Arévalo. He was nine years old. As he had witnessed his brother's pranks, so also he observed his first fervour, his penances and his touching works of mercy. He shared his poverty, too. In Catalina's little house in Arévalo the atmosphere was one of love, virtue and work. But it was also a house where hunger was no stranger. The same economic difficulties that had been responsible for the exodus from Fontiveros, forced Gonzalo de Yepes' widow to move house once more and again to set out on her travels in search of a means of livelihood for herself and her children. This was the year 1551.[14]

2

FIRST STUDIES

WHEN Catalina Álvarez came to Medina del Campo with her children, the Castilian town, with its population of 30,000, was a whirl of business activity. Now that the clash of war and the pomp and pageantry of the court, which in earlier, though still very recent times had disturbed it, were over, Medina, to the decay of which the ruins of so many buildings destroyed by the incendiarism of the Comuneros in 1520, and scarcely yet cleared away, bore witness, had now become the great market centre of Castile and even of Spain — indeed, in certain respects, of Europe. Those who set up their stalls in the market place and along the Calle Mayor which ran from the castle to the collegiate church not only consisted of Catalans, people from La Mancha, Basques, men of Toledo or of Córdoba — merchants and merchandise also flocked there from Flanders, from France and from Portugal.

Of this fact Catalina Álvarez was well aware. Those who had come from the south or from the centre of the Peninsula, had passed right by her little house at Fontiveros. Later she was to see them passing to and fro in the streets of Arévalo. It was doubtless in the market at Medina that the silk coifs which she and her eldest son wove to earn their daily bread found a home. She had, then, to be on the look out among those travelling to and fro for any possibilities of a livelihood which the rich Castilian town might offer. It would be easy for her youngest son to make his way in Medina. In the last resort, she would always find among the confraternities of the poor — that excellent institution of charity — the necessary food and shelter so that little John, accustomed as he was to privations ever since he was born, should not go hungry.

On the journey between Arévalo and Medina — a distance of about twenty-four miles going gently down hill over slightly un-

dulating country, with air clear and transparent and an horizon which stretched away to infinity — a curious incident took place. When they were quite close to Medina, perhaps on the banks of the Zapardiel or when passing close by a pool, a monster fish sprang up before their eyes and made as if to hurl itself upon John. The child, terrified, made the sign of the cross and the monster plunged back into the water.

Catalina Álvarez and her children settled in the north part of the town, inside the walls, in the Calle de Santiago, at whose northern end was the parish church of that name, near to the wall formed of lime and stone intermixed with brick and earth, which shut in the town on this side. Catalina Álvarez' tiny house was almost equidistant from the market place and the parish church, and near the convent of La Magdalena.[1] As they did when in Arévalo, Catalina, Francisco and Ana Izquierdo got to work at their weaving. In Arévalo, as was the case earlier in Fontiveros the silk coifs they wove did not bring them in sufficient for their food and the nourishment and up-bringing of Catalina's little son, John.

There was in Medina a Doctrine or Catechism School. Contrary to what earlier biographers of St John of the Cross thought, it was not an institution exclusively educational in type, a kind of free school which children attended to acquire the rudiments of knowledge. It was more in the nature of an orphanage. It was a sufficiently common institution in Castile at that time, the second half of the sixteenth century. There were Catechism Schools in Salamanca, Valladolid, Palencia and Guadalajara. In Salamanca and Valladolid, the street where the school was is still called Calle de los Doctrinos.

All had the same purpose and an identical organization. They were for poor children, usually orphans. Received into what was clearly a residential institution, they were fed, clothed, taught the rudiments of knowledge, principally of Christian doctrine — hence the name of Doctrine children — and were given the opportunity of an apprenticeship to some trade or profession suited to the aptitudes and desires of each. It was thus hoped to fit them for earning an honest living. The latter facility, namely the apprenticeship to a trade, was acquired not in the school itself, for it lacked the proper means for this, but by sending the children out to the workshops of such artisans in the neighbourhood as would offer to teach them disinterestedly and as a work of charity.

In Valladolid alone there came to be more than eight-hundred artisans of different trades who pledged themselves to train children from the Catechism School in their workshops.

Apart from this feature, which was common to all the Catechism Schools, special practices and obligations existed in each one of them. Thus, in Valladolid, the children attended funerals, dressed in black and carrying a banner in front of them. For this they were given alms, consisting of wax and money. This was entered as one of the resources on which the institution depended. In certain schools, the Doctrine children wore uniform. In Salamanca it was a loose gown, greyish brown in colour. These Catechism Schools were usually under the direction of a priest.

We do not know the date of foundation of the school at Medina del Campo, but it was certainly in existence when Catalina Álvarez and her children came there from Arévalo, although its foundation must have been recent. The orphans had not yet acquired their own house. The noble knight don Rodrigo de Dueñas who lived in the magnificent palace of the Calle de Santiago — its walls and turrets of brick, with a spacious and majestic staircase and handsome plateresque patio — had just signed the foundation deeds of the convent of the Magdalena. There mention was made of the Doctrine children. He promised them a house of their own, assigned them revenues and placed obligations upon them.

In the school, under the direction of a priest, they were maintained, brought up and taught. But the children had the obligation of doing duty as acolytes in the church and sacristy of La Magdalena, of helping to clean it, of being at the disposal of the nuns, the chaplain and the chief sacristan, whenever their services were called upon. Four children were set aside for this task and the hours they were to be on duty in the sacristy were noted down — in summer, from six till ten in the mornings, in winter from seven until eleven; and in the afternoons whenever the superior, the chaplain or the sacristan notified them. This attendance of the four Doctrine children at the church of La Magdalena was wholly gratuitous so far as they were concerned. The nuns had no obligation to give them food or clothing. It was the founder, don Rodrigo de Dueñas, who supplied the school with funds for this purpose.

Such was the organization of the Catechism School and its children. Catalina Álvarez succeeded in placing her youngest boy

there shortly after her arrival in Medina del Campo. John de Yepes, then, was received in this benevolent institution as a poor orphan boy, to be maintained, educated and taught a trade. Moreover, in this way, the distressing poverty of Gonzalo de Yepes' widow was alleviated.

It is to this period of the boy's stay as a boarder in the Catechism School that his various attempts as an apprentice in different crafts and trades refer, not to an earlier time, as the historians have stated. Apprenticeship was one of the purposes of this benevolent institution. John de Yepes tried his hand in turn as carpenter, tailor, wood-carver and painter. Despite the fact that this is the order given by his brother Francisco, we do not know for certain by which of these trades John began his apprenticeship. Still less do we know the names of his teachers. All we know is that in each of the four trades in turn, he failed to achieve success, and that failure occurred despite the effort and goodwill which John put into the task. It was thus a lack of adaptation and aptitude for manual labour, rather than of application.[2] In any event these attempts left their mark on the boy's mind. Later, in his years of maturity, we read of him painting and carving, and in explaining his mystical theories he uses constantly and with obvious pleasure metaphors and comparisons taken from these trades at which he tried his hand as a boy. The fact remains, however, that it was necessary to drop these attempts and think about finding the lad a good opening. The opportunity soon came.

We already know that, in accordance with the wishes of don Rodrigo de Dueñas, four children from the Catechism School went every day to serve in the church of the convent of the Magdalena. John de Yepes was one of the four assigned to this duty. From six in the morning until ten in summer and from seven until eleven in winter, Catalina Álvarez' youngest son moved about the small sacristy with its low roof and two narrow windows of unequal size, large picture of St Augustine, and the turn which opened into the inner sacristy, within the enclosure. The church was spacious and lofty, in the form of a Latin cross. It had ribbed vaulting, the ribs over-decorated with rosettes, shells and large golden flowers. The frescoes of the high altar — allegories of the virtues, scenes and characters from the Bible, inscriptions and legends — stood out clearly in the light of large windows framed in tall, slender columns with ionic capitals. The Augustinian

nuns could observe the behaviour of the Doctrine boys in the church of the Magdalena through the spacious choir grille of the tester.

Soon the difference between John and his three companions was noticeable — he was outstanding for his dexterity, intelligence and goodwill. This made the nuns fond of him and they gave him special marks of favour. He was even entrusted with the task of begging in the streets for the boys of the school. An incident with something of the supernatural about it resulted in the setting of a halo round the lovable and attractive figure of the acolyte of the Magdalena. One day, when he was playing with the other boys of the school in the courtyard of a hospital adjoining which there was a deep well worked by a windlass, almost without any curb round the edge, one of them pushed him and he fell into the water. When they went to get him out, they thought he was drowned. The boy, however, floated up to the top of the water and asked them to throw him a rope. He tied it round him beneath the arms himself and came out unharmed. People looked upon the incident as a miracle and talked about it. That very day it came to the knowledge of Pedro Fernández Bustillo, a townsman of Medina.[3] The incident had taken place in the full light of midday. Juan Gómez, who lived near the hospital and was on his way home to his midday meal, was passing by just when they had brought John out of the well and heard a group of onlookers recounting what had just happened as a miracle wrought by the Blessed Virgin. The boy himself said that it was our Lady who kept him afloat above the water. Even Elvira Quevedo, a young servant in the employ of the administrator of the hospital, heard the miraculous occurrence talked of in her master's house.[4]

Whether it was on account of the stir made by this incident, or of the qualities which John de Yepes displayed at the Catechism School and in his function as acolyte and server at the church of the Magdalena — qualities which had already attracted the attention of the nuns — the fact is that Alonso Álvarez de Toledo, administrator of the Plague Hospital, known as Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, became interested in him and took him as a messenger for the establishment. John was transferred, then, from the Catechism School to the Hospital de la Concepción.[5]

The hospital was in the Barrio nuevo, the new quarter in the north-west part of the town. There it formed a right-angle with

the Augustinian friars' convent of Nuestra Señora de Gracia and with the College of the Jesuits, very close to the parish church of Santiago. The administrator was a young gentleman who devoted his life to helping the poor. The Plague Hospital — one of the fourteen hospitals which existed in Medina del Campo at that time — was intended 'to cure poor people of plague and contagious diseases using the alms collected from charitable folk'.[6]

A threefold duty occupied the hours which John de Yepes, now an adolescent, spent in the hospital — the office of male nurse, that of collector of alms for the poor of the hospital, and study. Juan López Osorio, historiographer of Medina, and also Pedro Fernández Bustillo, described him as moving about with solicitous care, attending lovingly to the humble needs of the sick, full of charity and patience. He thereby won the affection of the administrator and other persons at the hospital, who admired his virtue. At the same time he went up and down the streets of Medina asking for alms to cover the expenses of the establishment, which amounted to more than eight hundred ducats, including sums spent on pharmacy, doctors, food, chaplains and bed linen.

Alternating with all this, he began his studies in the Jesuit College, which P. Sevillano had recently founded in 1551. John de Yepes had not far to go to attend the classes, for the college, situated at the extreme north of the street in which the hospital was, was barely two hundred yards away. Don Alonso Álvarez in whose mind the project put forward two years later of making the Yepes boy a chaplain of his benevolent institution was perhaps already taking shape, gave him permission, so long as he did not neglect his duties at the hospital, to study and to attend the Jesuits' classes. The time free for study was not long — only 'a little in the morning and another short period in the afternoon'; but John, who was already passionately enthusiastic over books, did not content himself with this. He sought an opportunity of devoting himself to study without neglecting his obligations, and thought of the night, when he would have finished his duties, when no one would need him any longer, when everyone would have gone away and it was legitimate for him to rest. Then he lighted an oil lamp and went off to his studies, settling himself among the faggots and bundles of kindling wood. There they sometimes came upon him by surprise, when they had vainly sought him in the outbuildings of the hospital.

The Jesuit College was in the full flowering of humanist enthusiasm. When the college first opened, the logic classes, open to the public, and given by the noted Flemish father, Maximiliano Capella, and later the grammar classes, begun in 1555, aroused genuine enthusiasm among the youth of Medina who not unnaturally regarded these lecture-halls as the cultural centre of the town. The Jesuit fathers understood the art of awakening their interest and retaining it, not only by their excellent pedagogical methods, with which we are familiar from documents of the period, but also with the holding of public academic functions, interspersed with performances of plays at which friends of the college and the servants of the students were present. 'By this — we read in a document of the time referring to these performances in the College of Medina in 1559 — the number of students has increased and continues to increase more than is usual.'

When did John de Yepes begin to attend the college? If, as may be assumed, he had already followed the usual four years' course there when he entered the Carmelite monastery, it would seem that he must have begun his studies with the Jesuits in 1559. He entered their college after he had learnt to read and write well, as his brother testified, in the Catechism School. It is not difficult to believe that he wrote a good hand if we look at the specimens of his writing that have been preserved. The letters are clear, the strokes firm and there is a uniformity of line which is elegant. His attendance at the Jesuit College was for the purpose of embarking upon serious study. His brother Francisco said that in the hospital they gave him leave to go and attend grammar lessons. Velasco assures us that in a few years he had a good knowledge of Latin and rhetoric. Padre Alonso is insistent that he followed an arts course in which grammar and rhetoric were included. The plan of his studies must have been drawn up on the basis of the organization of the courses at the Jesuit College at Medina del Campo at that time.

P. Capella taught philosophy in the college from the time of its foundation in 1551 until 1553. The classes were primarily intended for the students of the Society, but secular persons were not excluded. In 1553 the public schools were opened, with three classes in grammar. The classes in philosophy were not discontinued, but went on at least until 1560, although it was no longer P. Capella who expounded the subject. On the other hand, after 1560 it seems certain that they were finally closed.

The year in which John de Yepes began his studies in the college of the Society is uncertain. He went to Medina in 1551, at the very time when the Jesuits were establishing themselves near the parish church of Santiago, but we do not know either when he entered the Catechism School, nor how long he remained there. According to his brother he was there only a short time. It would seem possible that he did not leave to go to the hospital earlier than 1558, for in that year the construction of the church of the Magdalena, begun in 1551, was completed and it is known that John went to Mass in that church when he was still a Doctrine boy. Moreover, when in 1563 he left the college of the Society, it was because his studies there were finished. These studies comprised four courses [of one year] and we therefore have to assign the year 1559 to his entering the college. He studied there, then, in all probability from 1559 to 1563. He would be seventeen when he entered and twenty-one when he left to put on the dark brown habit and white cloak of the Carmelites.

In the college of the Society there were about forty pupils. The professors of the different courses were Gaspar Astete, famous for his Catechism; Juan Guerra, Miguel de Anda and Juan Bonifacio. They were all young Jesuits, not yet ordained priests, and were respectively in charge of the four classes which the course of study embraced. The classes lasted three hours in the morning and the same time in the afternoon. In grammar and rhetoric, the text of Nebrija was studied. The professor commented on the text with passages from the classics and the pupils were then given practical exercises of Latin composition in prose and verse. The passages chosen by Juan Bonifacio included Valerius Maximianus, Suetonius Aliciatus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Pliny and Pomponius Mela. He translated certain difficult portions of the Breviary including the hymns, the Catechism, the Letters of St Jerome and the proceedings of the Council of Trent. For his non-clerical pupils there were Cicero, Virgil, sometimes Seneca's tragedies, Horace and Martial expurgated, Caesar, Sallust, Livy and Curtius — that they might have models of everything, speeches, poetry and history.

Apart, then, from philosophy, a point which we cannot confirm with certainty, in spite of P. Alonso's affirmation, it is certain that John de Yepes studied Greek, Latin and rhetoric approximately from the age of seventeen to that of twenty-one. He studied with profit. We have already heard P. Velasco, doubtless

informed by Francisco de Yepes whose director he was, declare that in a few years John had acquired a good knowledge of Latin and rhetoric. Francisco in turn affirmed that his brother 'managed his studies so well, with our Lord's help, that he made much profit in a short time', while Tomás Pérez de Molina, who knew and often spoke with John de Yepes at this time, testified that 'he worked so hard that in a short time he learnt much from the Jesuits'.

If we take into account the fact that this was not a matter of elementary schooling, as the historians of Fray John of the Cross would have us understand, the importance of this period in the saint's life will be realized. In the college of the Society, the humanities were taught with all the perfection, extensiveness and competence of the best Spanish universities. The most outstanding of the professors, Juan Bonifacio, was a university man and it was he who set the standard in the college of Medina. To these years, then, must unquestionably be assigned the first contact — the first and perhaps the deepest — of the future author of the *Spiritual Canticle* with the Latin and Spanish classics and the beginning of his love for humanism, a contact and initiation in no sense superficial for their basis was an abundance of exercises, reading and composition. To assign all this to his years as a student in the University of Salamanca, as is sometimes done, is to show ignorance of the atmosphere and methods which obtained around the middle of the sixteenth century in the college that the Society had organized in Medina del Campo.

Meanwhile, what about John de Yepes' mother and brother?

Catalina Álvarez, Francisco de Yepes and Ana Izquierdo were living together in the same house, unquestionably a tiny house such as poor folk have, next to the parish church of Santiago. Perhaps some of Francisco and Ana's children were also to be seen there. We know that they came to have seven sons and a daughter. The latter was called Ana like her mother, and was the only one of their children who reached mature years. She became a Bernardine nun in the Sancti Spiritus convent at Olmedo. Both Catalina Álvarez and Francisco and Ana Izquierdo worked at their trade of weaving. They were called 'bombazine workers'. The work of weaving which they carried on in their own house alternated with a life of piety and works of charity. Catalina Álvarez was known as an exemplary and virtuous Christian. Francisco had a Jesuit father as his spiritual director. He was for

years in the care of Padre Cristóbal Caro who encouraged and also admired him. When some decades later the heroic virtues of Fray John of the Cross were spoken of with praise, Padre Caro said: 'Francisco de Yepes is as great a saint as his brother.' Despite his age — he was twenty-two when he came to Medina — and his status as a married man, Francisco did not think it beneath him to attend the explanations of Christian doctrine with the children.

Whether because there was insufficient work, or because of the poor pay which weaving earned, the fact was that the money coming into Catalina Álvarez' tiny house was not sufficient to live on. Good friends, who saw the straitened circumstances in which the bombazine workers were living, advised Francisco to get a post as attendant in the service of ladies of rank. He did so. Two honourable ladies, mother and daughter, engaged him to accompany them to fiestas. Francisco dressed himself as well as his means allowed, girt on a sword and began to practise his new duties. One day, having lingered over his usual visits to churches, he arrived at his employers' house late and was dismissed.

From that time he devoted himself body and soul to works of charity. The sad and shameful sight of children abandoned at the doors of churches was frequent in Medina, perhaps because of the agglomeration of traders and merchants from all parts of the country. In the parish registers of those days — we have examined those of the parish of Santiago and of San Martín — there were numerous baptismal entries in which may be read — 'He was left at the door of the church and it is not known who his parents are.' Francisco de Yepes devoted himself to rescuing these foundlings. He took them to the parish church to be baptized and stood godfather himself. Catalina Álvarez was often godmother. He was also called on to stand godfather to poor children.[7] When the foundlings were baptized, Francisco sought for foster mothers to bring them up and then went through the streets of Medina asking for alms to meet the expenses involved.

That was not all. One day, Catalina Álvarez, who had had to take John to the Catechism School to be clothed and fed, found an abandoned child at the door of a church, brought him home, looked after him and brought him up till he died. Another time, it was a poor, sick man whom Francisco picked up in the street. He took him to the hospital, carrying him upon his shoulders — possibly to the Conception Hospital where his brother John was

in service. In that case the patient passed from the hands of Francisco to those of John, gentle, loving hands of people themselves poor, as if the two brothers, orphans and in want from childhood and therefore sympathizing with all this hunger, tears and helplessness, poured out over the rest of men the affection and attentions which men had denied them from infancy.

3

FRAY JUAN DE SANTO MATÍA

On 26 July 1560, before the notary Juan Sánchez de Canales, P. Fray Diego Rengifo, authorized to do so by a Bull of Paul III, signed at Toledo a deed of donation of wealth and property in favour of the Carmelite monastery at Medina del Campo. Padre Rengifo was confessor to Charles V. On his way to Yuste (1557), the Emperor had passed through Medina, where he was lodged in Rodrigo de Dueñas' palace in the Calle de Santiago, exactly opposite the convent of the Magdalena which the latter had founded. It was a spacious palace of brick and stone, with a noble tower, a fine central patio with columns in the Renaissance style and a magnificent flight of stone steps.[1] All three, Padre Rengifo, the Emperor, and Rodrigo de Dueñas, had been instrumental in the foundation of the Carmelite monastery of Medina — Rodrigo de Dueñas, because he gave Padre Rengifo the houses adjacent to the hermitage of Santa Ana, where the foundation was made; Charles V because he authorized their donation to the monastery, and the Father, because, besides being initiator and financer of the foundation, he carried through all the different processes of the transaction to a satisfactory conclusion.

By the deed of donation, signed in Toledo, P. Rengifo left to the Carmelite monastery at Medina furniture and ornaments, many of which were of silver; the houses received from Rodrigo de Dueñas which he owned next to the hermitage of Santa Ana where the foundation was; the wine-cellar, casks and wine in the same; the houses, meadows, orchards and lands which he possessed in the town of Zofraga and its neighbourhood; a dovecot, lands and vineyards which he owned in and near Pozáldez, with in addition sixty thousand maravedís of rents and groundrents which belonged to him and all that might accrue to him in money or from property until his death. Padre Rengifo made one

condition. This was that the monastery should consider itself bound to maintain in perpetuity a lecturer in grammar and one in arts, who would teach these subjects publicly in the said monastery, both to the religious themselves and to all those who came from the town and district or even from elsewhere, the lecturers being religious of the Order.

All this was going on while John de Yepes was studying the humanities in the college of the Jesuits. When in 1563 he had completed his four years' course, the Carmelite Order could point to the recent foundation of the monastery of Santa Ana in Medina as an accomplished fact. John de Yepes, now twenty-one, was at this time seriously considering the choice of a state of life. His good patron, don Alonso Álvarez de Toledo, recommended his immediate ordination to the priesthood and offered him the post of chaplain at the Plague Hospital. The youthful Yepes was also approached from other directions and was offered different posts. It even happened that, independently of each other, certain Carmelite friars invited him to enter their Order. Since, however, his ideas did not coincide with the wishes of the administrator of the hospital, or with the different requests he received, he left the hospital secretly one day, crossing from north to south the few streets which separated it from the *ronda* of Santa Ana, walked into the Carmelites' temporary monastery and asked for our Lady's habit.

There was not the slightest hesitation on the part of the prior of Santa Ana, Fray Ildefonso Ruiz, or on that of the fathers of the council, and when don Alonso Alvarez de Toledo became aware of John's absence, the latter already had his head shaved — somewhat prematurely, it is true — with the monastic tonsure and was wearing the dark-brown habit and long white cloak of the Carmelites, with the name of Fray Juan de Santo Matía.

The splendid monastery in which the Carmelite friars of Medina del Campo lived a few years later, with its square central patio, the church with its doric pilasters, and its glorious reredos three times the height of a man, attributed to Gregorio Hernández, was not yet built.[2] At this time the friars were living not in a properly constructed monastery but in a small provisional house at the side of the chapel of Santa Ana, situated at the south-west of the town, within the walls of the third village and near one of its gates.

The number of friars living in the primitive monastery when

John de Yepes knocked at the door and asked for the habit is not known, but the fact that in the three years the foundation had then existed no more than five novices were professed — Fray Juan de Santa Matía's profession would make the sixth — would seem to indicate that it was a very small community.

To set down in precise terms the motives and circumstances of the Carmelite vocation of John de Yepes is not easy. To begin with, his was not a sudden resolution. The fact that other friars had offered him the habit and that, apart from the chaplaincy of the Plague Hospital, he had received offers of 'employments' indicates that he had been preoccupied with the problem of his vocation for some time. As to the friars who wanted him for their Order, in Medina there were Premonstratensians, Benedictines, Trinitarians, Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits. We do not know of any relationships he had, apart from those with the fathers of the Society. His brother Francisco was directed by the Jesuits, as we have seen. Was it they who, to use P. Velasco's expression, 'coveted' him?

Eight students from the Jesuit College left that year to take the habit in different Orders, four with the Dominicans, one with the Franciscans and three with the Carmelites. One of the latter three was John de Yepes.

Some historians have surrounded the vocation of Catalina Álvarez' youngest son with miraculous details, such as an express revelation of the Order which the young infirmarian of the Plague Hospital was to join. According to another account, John de Yepes said that he would take the habit in the Order which had fallen farthest from its observance. It was even imagined that, among the monastic houses of Medina, he was investigating which Order was the most lax, to enter there with a view to reforming it. One day he was supposed to have seen a Carmelite going along the street without his white cloak and to have exclaimed — 'It is here that I have to be a friar, this is the Order that I have to raise to a higher level.' Sheer legend. The fact that four years later, Fray Juan de Santo Matía thought of leaving the Carmelites and passing to the Carthusians, as will be seen, is proof that there was no revelation and that he did not enter the Carmelites with ideas of reform. To do so would have been a rather presumptuous attitude.[3]

One idea certainly helped him to make his choice, his love for the Blessed Virgin. It was for that reason that he decided to take

the Carmelite habit. Both Juan López Osorio and Pedro Fernández Bustillo, who were in contact with him at the time, had known him at the hospital and afterwards came to see him at Santa Ana, said that this was the case.

We do not know the date or any details about John de Yepes' taking of the habit.[4] We know little or nothing, either, about his life as a novice, except his fondness for hearing Mass, his devotion in spending long hours before the tabernacle and the constancy and utter simplicity with which he regularly set himself to the lowliest tasks in the monastery. Such virtue did not pass unnoticed by the friars of Santa Ana who afterwards spoke with praise of the edifying observance of Fray Juan de Santo Matía.

We cannot even reconstruct his life at this time on the basis of the laws and ceremonies which governed the Carmelite community at Medina for we have no knowledge of them. The monasteries of Castile had not accepted the severe rules of reform of the Father General, Audet, and the friars had rebelled. Until 1567, when the new General, Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo, of Ravenna, made a visitation of the Spanish provinces, a certain amount of anarchy ruled the day in the monasteries of Castile and Andalusia. No document exists which might authorize us to imagine Fray John adjusting himself to ceremonies which we do not know were even permitted in the monastery of Santa Ana.

On the other hand, we know that the classes of grammar and arts courses, founded and financed by Padre Rengifo, were given in the monastery. Is it not probably to this year, rather than to those in which he followed courses in the Jesuit college, that we should refer what Padres Alonso and Jerónimo de San José said when they asserted that Fray John followed a course in arts in Medina del Campo? It is almost certain that the classes were already functioning in that particular year, for it was three years since Padre Rengifo had given the order. One detail, unknown until now, confirms this conjecture — Fray John, when his studies in Salamanca were finished, came to the monastery of Medina as assistant teacher. This indicates that classes were being given in Santa Ana. It is not, then, rash to suppose that Fray John attended them more or less assiduously during his stay in the monastery.

When Fray John terminated his novitiate the Very Reverend Father Rubeo was already General of the Carmelite Order. As he

was elected in Rome, on 21 May 1564, it is certain that John de Yepes' profession did not take place until after that date, and probably some months afterwards, for the Provincial of Castile, Fray Ángel de Salazar, who attended the Chapter, had already returned from Rome and was present at the profession. Padre Salazar returned from Rome with the title of doctor, which the Chapter had awarded him.

Fray John was the sixth novice to make profession in the monastery of Santa Ana. Padre Alonso Ruiz, superior of the house, received his vows and Padre Ángel de Salazar and don Alonso Álvarez de Toledo, John de Yepes' distinguished protector until his entry into the Carmelite Order, were present as witnesses. We know the exact formula which the novice used: *Ego frater Johannes ut infra promitto obedientiam, paupertatem et castitatem Deo et reverendo patri fratri Ioanni Baptistae Rubeo, de Ravena, priori generali Ordinis Carmelitarum.* . . . And at the foot of the sheet on which the formula was written Fray Juan de Santo Matía, the professed, signed, as did also Fray Alonso Ruiz, as Rector, and the witnesses, Fray Ángel de Salazar and don Alonso Álvarez de Toledo.[5] Juan López Osorio and Pedro Fernández Bustillo, former acquaintances of the newly professed, were present at the ceremony. Catalina Álvarez, Francisco de Yepes and Ana Izquierdo may also have been present, but there is no documentary evidence for this.

Fray Alonso de Villalba, a fellow student with Fray John in Salamanca, affirmed that the latter had scarcely been professed when he obtained the necessary leave of his superiors to observe the primitive Rule of the Order.

A curious fact about which we should like fuller detail closes this period of Fray Juan de Santo Matía's life in the monastery of Santa Ana — the composition of some songs in heroic verse and in pastoral style. We owe this information to Padre Velasco in his report to the Medina Commission of Inquiry. It would seem that this is not an allusion to his mystical poems which are, of course, well known. These songs, which we conclude were composed during his novitiate days, were 'in gratitude for the favour which our Lord had done him of making him worthy of being in this religious Order, under the protection of his most holy Mother'. It is clear that there is no poem among those we know which refers even remotely to this matter. Could it perhaps be a reminiscence of his exercises in rhetoric at the Jesuit College, where the

students produced constant compositions in prose and verse, as we have seen? Fray John came to be able to comment on them with great acumen. Or are we here in the presence of the first attempt at what was later to constitute his great literary work?

4

SALAMANCA UNIVERSITY

On the right bank of the Tormes, some five hundred yards before one arrives down stream at the Roman bridge with its sixteen arches which crosses the river opposite Salamanca Cathedral, stood, in 1564, the Carmelite College of San Andrés. It was of no architectural importance. The primitive monastery of 1474, carried away by the Tormes in flood and rebuilt in 1480, had neither the spaciousness nor the artistic beauty which marked other colleges in Salamanca, that of San Esteban, for instance, which was so near.[1]

As regards the internal affairs of the Order, this period of the sixteenth century was one of increasing activity. Sixteen years earlier, in 1548, the General Chapter of the Order held in Venice, presided over by Nicholas Audet, had turned the monastery at Salamanca into a general college for all the Spanish provinces. This was the first effective step towards the restoration of culture in the Carmelite houses of Spain. Moreover, it turned the College of San Andrés into the intellectual centre of the Peninsula for the Carmelites. In virtue of this provision, the prior was obliged to receive any and every student from the other provinces, provided they presented themselves with letters of dismissal from their respective superiors and paid an annual sum of ten crowns. The ordinance of the General Chapter of Venice anticipated the attendance of priest students and decreed that they were not to be obliged to say Mass on more than two days in the week. On the other hand, it obliged the prior and monastery, under penalties which would fall upon the Provincial and the prior, to look after the students 'worthily and generously'.

More recently, in that very year 1564, the Chapter held in Rome on 21 May and presided over by the new General, Master Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo, once more concerned itself with the College of San Andrés. It must have been too small for its needs

and it was decided that it should be enlarged. Moreover, the Chapter insisted that the students should be well fed, and that those who came from distant provinces of Spain and Portugal were not to be rejected but to be warmly welcomed. Perhaps certain complaints had reached the Chapter. There were present at it the prior of Valencia, who had come as *socius* to the Provincial of that province and who was appointed judge of criminal cases; Padre Antonio de Heredia, then prior of Ávila, *socius* to the Provincial of Castile and appointed judge of civil cases brought before the Chapter; Padre Miguel Carranza, Provincial of Aragón; Fray Ángel de Salazar, Provincial of Castile and Gaspar Nieto, Provincial of Andalusia. . . . They would have been able to inform the Chapter of the situation of the College of San Andrés.

One measure applied to the students was fairly severe — they were absolutely forbidden to go out of the college unless it were to attend classes of the university. Even then they had to go in pairs, wearing their white cloaks and walking with religious gravity. Those who broke this rule were to be imprisoned for eight days. If they repeated the fault, the punishment was three disciplines and a day on bread and water. Anyone offending for the third time was to be expelled from the college, the balance of the ten crowns he had paid over on entering would not be returned to him, and he would be handed letters of dismissal to be given to his Provincial, who would thus mete out to him the measure of punishment prescribed. Discipline, then, was strict.

It must have been towards the end of the year 1564 when Fray Juan de Santo Matía arrived at Salamanca. He came, recently professed, from his monastery at Medina del Campo. He would no doubt have learnt of the decree of the General Chapter held in May, by which local and provincial superiors were obliged to give facilities for study to those novices who showed aptitude for it. Already Fray John's admittance to profession as a choir brother is proof that he was well grounded in Latin. Those who were not so and yet wanted to remain in the Order were deprived of the tonsure and had to remain as lay brothers. Moreover, to begin one's higher studies — arts and theology — students were required to show a perfect knowledge of grammar. Fray John's entrance, then, into the Carmelite *studium* of Salamanca meant that he was a good Latinist and an excellent grammarian. Padre José Velasco did not exaggerate when, referring to John de Yepes' studies in Medina, he said that 'in a

few years he acquired a good knowledge of grammar and rhetoric'. He was a credit to the Jesuit College in Medina.

At the beginning of 1565, on 6 January, feast of the Epiphany, the students of the College of San Andrés who were going to follow courses in the *alma mater* were matriculated. This was not the first time that their white cloaks were seen among the university students. As early as the academic year 1560–1, we find that six Carmelites matriculated. All were priests, four were matriculated for theology and two for arts. In the following year (1561–2) there were five theologians and five arts students and in 1562–3, three arts students and seven for theology. In the next year the number of students matriculated fell — there were only three theologians and two arts students.

In the year 1564–5 the number was higher again, perhaps as a result of the last General Chapter, held in May, which was so much concerned with the College of San Andrés. There were six theologians and four arts students. Among these, third on the matriculation register, there appeared the name of 'Fray Juan de Santo Matía, native of Medina del Campo in the diocese of Salamanca'.[2] On matriculation, five maravedís per student were paid as university dues, and the notary set down, together with the student's native town, the day, month and year of the registration — 'day of the Kings [Epiphany], 6 January 1565'. The statutes insisted on the recording of these details under penalty of a fine of one ducat for each omission. The fact that in the matriculation entry Fray Juan de Santo Matía is made a native of Medina would seem to show that he was not present at the matriculation. Probably one religious from the respective colleges attended for the registration of all the matriculation entries. What all students had to be present at was the taking of the oath to observe the statutes, in the presence of the Rector of the university. It is recorded that Fray John and his companions took it at the beginning of the academic year 1565–6, when the celebrated don Diego Dávalos was rector.

Fray Juan de Santo Matía began his studies at the University of Salamanca in the most glorious days of its history. There he found Master Fray Luis de León, who was teaching theology in the Chair of Durandus. Mancio de Corpus Christi, worthy successor to Vitoria and Melchor Cano, held the Prima Chair of Theology, the most important in the university.[3] Juan de Guevara, an Augustinian, had the Vespers Chair — his lectures

were called 'miraculous'.[4] For the Chair of Scripture, Gregorio Gallo acted as substitute for Domingo Soto who was ill,[5] and Cristobal Vela, was the expounder of Scotus.

Those who held the Arts Chairs were also eminent men: Master Enrique Hernández, author of a treatise on philosophy which will be referred to later, taught, either personally or through a substitute, the class of Natural Philosophy; Francisco Navarro held the Chair of Ethics; Hernando de Aguilera, who had worked out and published an *Astrolabio*,[6] held the Chair of Astrology; while Francisco Sánchez, known as El Brocense, taught the Prima class of Grammar, Master Martín de Peralta explained the *Summulas*, and Juan de Ubredo occupied the Chair of Music.[7]

The number of students was very high, and matriculations ran into nearly seven thousand. Although in different degrees, all the Faculties were crowded. There were nineteen hundred students of Canon Law, seven hundred and fifty theologians, seven hundred lawyers, two hundred doctors, nine hundred Arts students or philosophers and more than two thousand studying languages. The religious Orders sent a good contingent. Few were unrepresented at Salamanca University. There were Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Benedictines, Mercedarians, Trinitarians, Theatines, Tertiaries, Jeronymites, Premonstratensians and Canons Regular. In some colleges, in that of the Dominicans, for instance, the students amounted to as many as two hundred.

There was no region in the Peninsula which did not send young men to Salamanca. There were in the university Catalans, Aragonese, Andalusians, students from La Mancha, Portuguese, Basques, Galicians, and, first and foremost, Castilians. The streets seethed with university men. At the times of the classes, a motley and a noisy crowd arrived from all directions along the streets which led into the square bounded on three sides by the eastern façade of the university, the new cathedral then under construction and the Anaya College, and along the narrow lane where the 'Escuelas menores' were, that is, opposite the *alma mater*, facing its principal façade with the delicate plateresque ornament, which looked west. Costumes of all shapes and of all colours could be seen. In addition to the religious habits which moved to and fro by hundreds, the grey, blue and purple cloaks of the four 'Escuelas mayores' could be seen with their distinguishing colours.

Against the bare heads of the friars, shorn by the monastic tonsure, stood out the regulation square black caps of the students and the headgear of those who were studying with the status of *pobres de solemnidad*, i.e. very poor persons. Only priests, members of colleges and official Readers in the Schools were allowed to wear the cassock.

A large proportion of the lay students lived in the colleges of the university. The life was strict. We have details of the régime in the College of St Bartholomew, perhaps the most famous and important of the four 'Colegios Mayores' then established in Salamanca. Students under the age of eighteen were not admitted. Meals, at which the Rector and governing body presided, were taken in the common refectory, and in silence. The only voice heard was that of the Reader, who read slowly and deliberately on a given note from the Constitutions of the College, the Bible, the lives of the Fathers, the Canticle of Canticles or some book of devotion. Even the quality and quantity of certain foods was legislated for: 'We hereby decree — the Constitutions read — that in the evenings there may be taken for supper in the College dishes of roast meat, kid, rabbit and similar food, one quarter of a kid, or one rabbit, to form three portions.' Students were also allowed to take stew with salt pork and all other things customary at the time. Wine, honey, butter and cheese were also permitted. . . .

When the meal was finished, an academic function, at which all were obliged to be present, followed. Certain conclusions, against which it was permissible to argue, were put forward and discussed. No one might absent himself until the Rector gave the signal that the function was ended. The books that were for the common use of the students were chained, and anyone who committed a breach of discipline was punished by being deprived of wine at meals or was made to fast on bread and water, according to the seriousness of his misdemeanour. No one was allowed out without regulation dress, and when the bell for Compline was rung — at nightfall — the time at which the outside door was closed, all must already be within the college walls. It was thus a strictly disciplined residential college life with something monastic about it.

Whilst an element of gaiety and of the picaresque was not absent among the students — an element which the writers of the time have thrown into relief, with its scenes of riotous mischief —

the prevailing tone was religious. Master Pedro Chacón, whose history of the university covers these years, shows this clearly. 'They go hand in hand', he says, speaking of the students, 'with as much sense of decency and care of the conscience as it is usual to find among religious. A proof of this is the fact that in the present year (he was writing in 1569) almost six hundred students among the best subjects in the strictest religious Orders have entered, many of them from the Discalced friars.'

The colleges of the religious Orders which were privileged to claim the title and category of *Studium generale* had a twofold organization. They were partly colleges of the university and partly private colleges with their own classes, presided over by eminent professors of the same Order. Their students thus received a double intellectual training — the strictly university training in the lecture rooms of the *alma mater* and that which was special to their Order in the college itself. Those religious who matriculated in the university attended both courses.

The university classes were very numerous. An eye-witness counted sixty — ten in canon law, seven in theology, seven in medicine, eleven in logic and philosophy, one in astronomy, one in music, two in Hebrew and Chaldean, four in Greek, and seventeen in grammar and rhetoric. Obviously no student could follow even all those of his particular faculty. Religious, particularly, who could not miss the special classes of the college of their own Order, had to limit their university attendance to those classes which were fundamental. The Prime and Vespers lectures in theology and those in physics or ethics in philosophy or arts, were preferred.

Except the Prime lectures which had to last an hour and a half, the other classes might not exceed one hour. The Prime lectures were given at eight o'clock in the morning in winter and at seven from Easter onwards. The philosophy class was from ten to eleven in winter and from nine to ten during the rest of the academic year, the Vespers Chair lectures from two to three in the afternoon until Easter and from three to four from Easter until the vacation.

We also know the system or method followed. The students sat on long, rough wooden benches without a back. At times, when the attendance was very numerous, they stood, as happened in the case of the Mancio Chair lectures and those of Luis de León. The professor gave his lecture from his Chair, a kind of wooden

rostrum or pulpit, facing the students. He was not allowed to read from a memorandum, notebook or any paper whatever. The *actuante* alone, a kind of assistant who sat at the foot of the rostrum, read out at the beginning of the lecture the text which would form the subject of the Master's dissertation. Dictation was forbidden by the statutes of the Schools. All that was allowed was the repetition of the conclusion two or three times to make it easier for the students to note it down.

Not all the professors conformed to these official regulations. Still less did the students, who hissed when the Master spoke quickly without giving them time to take the necessary notes. Vitoria was one of the professors who infringed this law of the statutes of the University of Salamanca most. After his time, in spite of what we should nowadays call visits of inspection at the university which urged the carrying out of what was legislated for, the professors continued to dictate more or less openly. In the years 1564–8 with which we are dealing, the most eminent professors — Guevara, Mancio, Fray Luis de León, Juan Gallo, Gaspar de Grajal, followed this practice. All tried to give the students time to take notes. In spite of the fact that in the visits of inspection the latter exonerated and defended the professors on this point, in the academic year 1565–6 the Rector fined Masters Pedro Espinar, Fray Luis de León, Gaspar de Grajal and Juan Gallo one ducat because they 'dictated as they lectured'. Fray Luis de León was again an offender the following year. In actual fact the students were then able to take notes and sometimes even to copy the Master's explanation in its entirety and they did so. It is in this way that many of the lectures or *reelectiones* of these distinguished Masters have come down to us. Later, in 1570, dictation at the lectures in Salamanca university came to be officially authorized.

The exposition had to be given in Latin. The professors carried out this rule more meticulously than they did the preceding one. Even Fray Luis de León, who was at the time defending the excellent possibilities of Castilian for the expression of the deepest theological questions and who proved it in the way he wrote *De Los Nombres de Cristo*, kept to Latin in his professorial discourses.[8] All the university lectures which have come down to us are in Latin. The use of Castilian was authorized only in the Chairs of music, astrology and the grammar courses in the Escuelas menores. It was not allowed in the other lectures, except to give some

homely illustration or put forward some law of the realm. Professors who contravened this regulation paid a fine of three reals.

When the class was over, the Master left the lecture room and waited at the door of the Schools by a pillar — the students called it 'the post'— to listen to the students' objections or to give some clarification they asked for of the explanations given in the lecture hall. On feast days there were *reparaciones*, that is, public discussions. Until the month of March they took place from one to two in the afternoon and from March till St John's day, from two till three.[9]

As to the authors and systems taught in the university, the statutes prescribed the works of Aristotle for the Arts courses and those of the Master of the Sentences for Theology. But the prescribed text was only a directive pointer. The *actuante*, sitting at the foot of the professor's Chair, read it out at the beginning of the lecture and then the professor interpreted it with full liberty, if indeed he did not leave it aside entirely, reading other texts which came to form the real basis of his dissertation. Thus we see that Vitoria, as soon as he took possession of his Chair in 1526, used the *Summa* for preference. He did not succeed in imposing it officially, the statutes of 1563 continued to prescribe the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, but the teaching which came from his Chair was pure Thomism. On the other hand there were professors who in the Chair of St Thomas defended propositions contrary to those of the Angelic Doctor. We have only to recall the case of Fray Luis de León. The same thing happened in the case of the Scotus and the Durandus Chairs. The statutes prescribed the reading and explanation of these doctors in their respective Chairs but left the liberty to impose them or not to the professor.

The procedure followed in the Arts course was identical. Although they were fundamentally and substantially Aristoteleans, the majority of the professors had no hesitation in rejecting teachings of the Philosopher and St Thomas, to which they opposed certain Platonic elements and even ideas of Arabic provenance. At this time Avicenna and Averroës in particular acquired an extraordinary importance in the lecture halls of Salamanca.

The doctrines taught by Master Enrique Hernández are known to us. He held the Chair of Natural Philosophy and, judging by the extent to which he intervened in all university disputes — he was one of those who drafted the statutes then in force — his

doctrinal influence cannot be dismissed. Master Hernández was doubtless an independent thinker. At first sight the system based on his doctrines does not appear to be conspicuous for its originality, yet in actual fact it is original in certain respects. Already in the initial question on the number and nature of constitutive principles of physical beings, he departed in certain points from the teaching of Aristotle, borrowed by St Thomas. Accidents could not be defined in terms of inherence, since not everything that inheres is an accident, but only that which can be or not be without giving determination to the substantial compound. He was, moreover, opposed to the real distinction between essence and existence, although the arguments he used were not original. In the question of the plurality of forms he was a nominalist and he believed, against Aristotle, Averroës and St Thomas, in the actual intelligibility of matter, an opinion that was logical if one denied the real distinction between essence and existence, since the affirmation of matter as absolute reality in the realist sense of the word absolute was thereby established. He admitted the possibility of creation, not only in God, against Aristotle, but even in creatures through divine communication of the creative power, against the teaching of St Thomas. Finally, he was an Ockhamist in the problem of bilocation.

No one in the university was scandalized at these anti-Aristotelean and anti-Thomist opinions. All systems were discussed, all opinions could be held. There were no limits beyond that of the faith. Only when the faith was called in question did protests arise, were denunciations made, even to the point of calling in the Inquisition, as in the heated trial of Fray Luis de León. For the rest, there was no innovation of cultural or literary character which could not find an echo and a welcome in the lecture rooms of Salamanca. Sometimes it would be assimilated, at others refuted. When nominalism began to be the burning question in the universities of the centre of Europe, the cloisters of Salamanca had Masters brought from Paris to explain the new doctrines and four new Chairs were established — two for the nominalists and two for the realists. The consequence of the theological revolution brought to a head by the Protestant reform and the changes in philosophy initiated and maintained by the Renascence, was that the Masters of Salamanca eagerly examined methods, doctrines, procedures and did not use antiquated and ineffectual weapons to fight the new adversaries. In another field, that of

pure philolology and literature, the presence and the work of El Brocense and Fray Luis de León are the best proof of the rejuvenated atmosphere of humanism which was breathed in the Salamanca lecture halls.

Such was the system of studies and the setting into which Fray Juan de Santo Matía entered on 6 January 1565. We cannot state with certainty what lectures he attended, nor does it seem that it will ever be possible to do so. The existing data do not enable us to go farther than to indicate the framework within which the students necessarily moved and the general atmosphere they had to breathe.[10]

With this university curriculum there alternated, as in the case of all students who were religious, the regular life and background of the Carmelite College of San Andrés. It held the privilege of being classed as a *Studium generale*, at least from 1548 onwards, when the General Chapter of the Order, held at Venice, decreed that it should be so defined.[11] As in all religious colleges of its kind, the teachings of the doctors belonging to the Order were explained and the students alternated the classes of the college with those of the university.[12]

What doctrines were taught in the San Andrés College at the time when Fray Juan de Santo Matía was pursuing his studies there? The Carmelite Order had its own theological school of philosophy and theology, the maintenance of which was prescribed by the rules of the Order. It was represented by two Masters in particular — John Baconthorp and Michael of Bologna,[13] and their writings came to constitute the doctrinal teachings of the school. The General Chapter held in Naples in the year 1510 had already imposed an obligation on Carmelite houses to acquire their writings, which were not to be lacking in any monastic library. There existed, then, a clause of the Constitutions making the teaching of their doctrine obligatory. It is certain that the original provisions gave the preference to the doctrine of Baconthorp for Italy and to that of Michael of Bologna for the other provinces. But in fact the preference in Spain and even outside the Peninsula was for Baconthorp. The numerous commentaries published on his teaching are proof of this, whereas the teaching of Michael of Bologna was practically confined to the publication of his works. This overwhelming acceptance of the teaching of Baconthorp gave rise to a modification of the Constitutions, which eventually prescribed that the

teaching of the doctors of the Order, 'especially that of John Baconthorp' should be promoted and defended. There is no doubt, then, that in the San Andrés College the works of Baconthorp were available and were used. Fray Juan de Santo Matía studied his doctrine at the same time as he studied that of the master taught in the university.

It was a novel doctrine on several heads. Like all the scholastics, Baconthorp was at bottom an Aristotelean, but from the principles of the Stagyrite he drew conclusions opposed to those of St Thomas or Scotus. Thus, in the theory of knowledge, without rejecting either the terminology or the psychological mechanism of the intellectual process admitted by these doctors, he stopped short at direct and immediate perception. He only admitted mediate knowledge in the sensitive order. According to Baconthorp, intellectual knowledge was immediate and direct. For this he began by affirming the immediate activity of the substantial form and the real identity of the spiritual powers among themselves and in relation to the substance of the soul. Opposing the anti-voluntarism of Godfrey of Fontaines, who asserted the absolute passivity of the will, he tried to establish a definite independence between the determination of the reason and the act of the affective faculty of the soul, attributing to the latter a kind of self-determination.

In metaphysics, the Carmelite doctor held opinions of his own on questions as important as that of essence and existence, a question on which he adopted an intermediate position between the doctrine of St Thomas which he rejected on many counts and that of the conceptualists which he considered more erroneous still. His formula was: *differentia non rerum, sed realis, seu secundum diversos gradus essendi.* Like Averroës — Baconthorp has been called *Princeps averroistarum* — he placed the principle of individuation in the form, asserting that it was not the mind of St Thomas, but of some of his commentators, to put it in *materia signata quantitate,*[14] and proclaimed the duality of forms in man, i.e. the corporeal and the intellectual, denying, against Henry of Ghent, that from the two absolute unity of being results.

He was no less independent in theology. When he began to demonstrate its nature and that of the theological habitus, he immediately adopted a position different from that of the other doctors, denying that its subject matter was supernatural. Nor did he admit that *ens divinum* was the object of sacred science but

God in so far as he can be known through the Scriptures. He was not afraid to take up opinions most contrary to the common opinion of the theologians. Thus he affirmed the possibility of man's knowing God as a supernatural object, without any assistance extrinsic to his power of perception, that is, without any supernatural light or intellective habitus. It would be sufficient for God to elevate him intrinsically on the basis of the obediential power existing in man. In this way the light of faith remained as a necessity, not on the side of the potency, but on the side of the object, which would not be perceptible without it. On the other hand, he followed St Thomas in the distinction of the divine attributes. He was Augustinian in his assignation of the image of God in man, the image being brought into relief not by actions, but residing in the very powers of the soul. Hope is seated in the will, whilst faith is exclusively rooted in the understanding. Not without interest are his views on the necessity of a divine intervention for man's actions to qualify as supernatural; on the reason why union between a divine Person and human nature is possible; on the making of natural habits by supernatural acts; and on the knowledge of the angels, a matter in which the Carmelite doctor tried to establish himself on Averroist principles.

Such were the doctrines which Fray Juan de Santo Matía heard explained and discussed in the Carmelite College of San Andrés outside the walls of Salamanca, on the banks of the Tormes. The professors of the college were obliged to hold a class in theology each day. This contrast between the doctrinal systems of the university and of the college — doctrines about the faith, the virtues, the knowableness and the attributes of God, theories about the nature and functioning of the faculties of the soul, dissertations of a metaphysical character, explanations even about the physical world and natural history — were one day to be used by Fray John to construct his system of mysticism. The independence he observed in the matter of schools and doctors was to give him flexibility and breadth of judgement, and the terse scholastic style was to give the logical and irresistible structure of his thought a coalescence and firmness which would enable him to raise mysticism to a scientific level hitherto unknown.

Few details of his life as a student at San Andrés are known to us. We learn from the evidence of one of his fellow-students, Fray Alonso de Villalba of Toledo, one of those who, wearing his white cloak, accompanied him to the university lectures, that

Fray Juan was remarkable for his 'outstanding genius' and for his application. One fact proves that Fray Alonso de Villalba did not exaggerate — the fact that Fray Juan de Santo Matía was appointed prefect of students. This was an office conferred only on the most outstanding. He had to teach a class, defend public theses, and assist the Regent Master in the solution of the objections which were presented.

In 1567, when the third year of the Arts course in the university was finished, Fray John, before matriculating as a theologian, had to pass a stiff examination. This was a provision of the General Chapter of 1548. A student who failed could not go on to study theology. The passage from one faculty to the other was celebrated by a solemn academic function in the presence of the *magister studentium* in the theology hall. It was a public discussion in which the new student in theology defended a thesis against the attacks of the veterans of the faculty. If there were several entrants, the first among them defended the thesis and the others attacked it, seconded by the senior theologians. It is to be supposed that Fray Juan de Santo Matía was not exempt from this regulation and that in the year 1567, before matriculating as a student in theology, he took part in this ceremony of admission to the faculty.

We find that it was then that the problem of mysticism began to preoccupy Fray John. José de Jesús María, who got his information from Fray John's fellow-students, mentions the special study he made of mystical writers, 'in particular of St Denis and St Gregory.' The exact determination of the nature of contemplation interested him. New doctrines which were acquiring ascendancy — probably ideas of the illuminist type — gave him the impression of being a deviation from the true spiritual teaching of the fathers and doctors. Fray John examined and compared. Finally, he wrote a discourse in which he set out the conclusions he had arrived at: a falsification, ascetical-mystical in type, existed, a wrong interpretation of contemplation and its practice, and Fray John deplored this bitterly in his dissertation. Unfortunately it has not come down to us. All we know is that his fellow-students considered it 'excellent'. Such were the first-fruits of his pen.

From the religious point of view, Fray John was leading an exemplary life in the College of San Andrés. The cell he had was dark and narrow, but the little window looked on to the sanc-

tuary and Fray John spent long hours of the night in prayer. In the day-time, while his companions wandered about and amused themselves, he remained studying in his dark, poorly furnished little cell. His fellow-students admired him. One day, when Fray John was at the window looking on to the sanctuary, he noticed a religious who held an office of responsibility in the monastery doing something reprehensible. Fray John was, of course, younger. None the less, moved by both zeal and charity, he went up to the senior friar, rebuked him with authority and threatened him that if he did not cease forthwith he would inform the prior, so that he could remedy the matter. Fortunately there was no need of the latter course. The friar desisted from his unworthy action and Fray John left the matter alone.

His virtue became proverbial among his fellow-students and Superiors. Rumours of the austere life he was leading in Salamanca spread as far as Medina. Nobody dared to commit a fault in his presence. If they were talking at a forbidden time or place and saw him approaching, they separated saying, 'Fray John's coming.' On other occasions they did not wait for him to appear. Alonso de Villalba, his fellow-student, gave evidence that before they saw him they said, 'Let us go away from here, before that devil comes.'

This reputation was the result of his austere, mortified, recollected life. All knew that he did severe penance, that he fasted the greater part of the year, that he spent much time in prayer, that he studied harder than anyone else. They knew how poor his narrow little cell was, with its tiny window looking on to the sanctuary and a hole in the roof just over the table at which he worked. They saw his bed, a kind of trough without a mattress, with a piece of wood as pillow. They even saw him sleep, like St Alexis, on a board under a staircase. There were the blood-stained hair-shirts and disciplines, and some sort of breeches made of esparto grass, covered with sharp knots, like the meshes used for hen-houses, and a tunic made in the same way which he wore next to the skin; these hair-shirts, tunic and breeches with the blood-stains still upon them, remained in the cell at the College of San Andrés when Fray Juan, his studies ended, returned to his monastery at Medina del Campo.

An event took place in the college while he was there — the visit of the General of the Order, Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo, in 1566. He came to visit the Spanish provinces, to put into force

the decrees of the Council of Trent. He visited all the monasteries and convened provincial Chapters. In that held at Ávila in April 1567, Fray Martín García, candidate for a Chair, was elected prior of Salamanca and Fray Martín of Santillana, subprior. A little earlier, in February of the same year, he had made his canonical visit to the college in Salamanca during Fray Juan de Santo Matía's residence there.

5

THE REFORM OF CARMEL

On 14 August 1567 Madre Teresa arrived at Medina del Campo. She came to found her second convent of Discalced nuns. The Reform was spreading, the initial difficulties were already overcome. She had won the first battle that was waged against her work. The walls of Ávila standing firm and unbroken, with their massive granite towers, their battlements and the superb arches of the gates of San Vicente and the Alcázar, witnessed the first triumph of the Madre of the Reform. She had found herself attacked on all sides — by the nuns of the Incarnation, friars of different Orders, clerics, *beatas*.[1] . . . Even the Town Council in full session, with all the city authorities, set on foot a law-suit against the Madre's first convent. They tried to wreck it by force and the law. But over all this the talent, energy and virtue of Teresa de Ahumada had now triumphed.

The Madre had already been living with her beloved daughters in the convent of St Joseph for four years when the General of the Order, Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo, arrived at Ávila. He was the first General to visit Castile. On 12 April (1567) he held a Chapter in the Carmelite monastery which backed on to the inside of the north wall, and visited the little convent of St Joseph. Madre Teresa, cautiously at first, gave him an account of her work, her anxieties and her intentions. The most reverend Father-General, finding the person and work of the Madre satisfactory, encouraged her to continue, gave her letters patent to found new convents of Discalced nuns in Castile, and authorized her to draw up constitutions for her nuns. When the General left Ávila for Madrid a mutual veneration and sincere affection was established between him and the Madre, an affection which, at all events on St Teresa's part, was not shattered even by the unpleasant encounters of the worst days of the Reform.

Madre Teresa did not speak to the General of her project of

reforming the friars. It was the bishop of Ávila, don Álvaro de Mendoza, who did so on her indication. For the moment the Master-General did not agree and he left Ávila without granting permission. But the Madre was in a hurry and wrote to Padre Rubeo direct, insisting on her request. Meanwhile, without waiting for the reply, impatient to make a new foundation which she had already been planning for some time, she left for Medina del Campo, arriving at the Castilian town on 14 August. The foundation was inaugurated next day. There was no possibility of remaining in the house, which was in ruins — the walls crumbling, the little yard with its mud walls falling to pieces, the garret dilapidated, the doors off their hinges. . . . While it was being made into a fit condition for a convent, the Madre and her nuns took refuge on the top floor of the house of a rich and generous merchant, Blas de Medina, who offered them hospitality. The future convent was in the Calle de Santiago, near the parish church of that name — the house of Blas de Medina in the Plaza Mayor, near the brick-built collegiate church.

It was there that the prior of the monastery of Santa Ana, Fray Antonio de Heredia, came to visit the Madre. They knew each other already. They had even written to each other, the Madre having written entrusting him with the purchase of the house for a convent. In the early morning of the 14th he came out as far as Arévalo to meet the Foundress, in order to warn her of the condition of the house he had purchased. He was the first, too, to receive the nuns on their arrival. He lent them, from the church of Santa Ana, the materials for an altar for the day of the opening, and had lunch and dinner brought from his monastery for the Madre and her daughters.

We know that Madre Teresa spoke to him of her projects of reform among the friars, though we do not know when, nor do we know whether what she said was a secret for P. Antonio alone. When the Madre arrived at Medina, P. Heredia set out on a journey to Toledo. He went there as Vicar, commissioned by the Provincial, to make a visitation of that monastery. We do not know the exact date, but it must have been about the end of August or the beginning of September. While he was there, the patent from the General arrived, authorizing the foundation of two monasteries of the Reform. The carrying out of this work was entrusted to the Provincial, Fray Alonso González, and to the prior of Ávila, Fray Ángel de Salazar; but the document was addressed directly

to the Procurator General, Fray Mariano de León, who resided in Toledo. At Toledo, then, the General's patent dated 16 August 1567 came into the hands of Padre Heredia. It is to him that it was handed over after Fray Juan Bautista Figueredo had taken a copy which would remain in the possession of the Procurator General.

Had Madre Teresa already spoken of her projects to Padre Antonio? How could he know about the General's authorization beforehand? Was it not probably P. Heredia himself who brought the Madre the news and the patent on his return from Toledo? In any event, they were talking one day about the reform of the friars when Padre Antonio, full of enthusiasm, offered himself as the first subject. Madre Teresa was filled with joy, which she restrained. She did not doubt the virtue of the prior of the Medina Carmelites. 'He was always a good friar, recollected, very studious and fond of his cell, for he was a learned man.' She even knew that he intended to pass over to the Carthusians and that they had promised to admit him. He was, however, somewhat elderly — P. Antonio at that time was nearly sixty.[2] He had been trained for a different life. He liked to decorate his cell, to have a carefully brushed habit, and that all the externals of his life should be impeccable in appearance. According to Julián de Ávila, who knew him and was in contact with him at this time, 'he was not faultless'. It was on this account that the Madre feared that he would not stand the rigour which the Reform would demand, especially in its beginnings. She, therefore, prudently asked him to wait and prepare himself.[3]

The Madre received another visit, probably while she was still lodging on the top floor of Blas de Medina's house — that of Padre Fray Pedro de Orozco. He was young, still a student at the University of Salamanca. A native of Medina, he had come to sing the first Mass.[4] The Madre must have contrasted the intelligent and energetic embodiment of youth who stood before her with Fray Antonio de Heredia's many years. But Pedro de Orozco did not offer himself for her work. Perhaps the Madre did not go farther than to sound him without going to the point of making her proposals clearly known. It would seem, however, that she did perhaps ask for some young Carmelite university student with considerable intelligence and courage. That would be the ideal. Fray Pedro de Orozco spoke to her of a fellow-student of his, who was also young and of the university. He was

twenty-five and was outstanding in Salamanca for his virtue, his penances and his recollection. Moreover he was actually in Medina, for, like himself, he had come to sing the first Mass.[5] He was called Fray Juan de Santo Matía. This news must have made Madre Teresa's heart beat more quickly. If she could only speak with him. . . . The interview was arranged.

We do not know the exact day when the two great Carmelite reformers met for the first time. It must have been between September and October of the year 1567. The Madre was fifty-two. She was at the height of her physical energies, of her desires for reform, and of her sanctity. We can picture her with her beautiful face framed in the nun's wimple — the broad forehead, lashes the colour of ripe corn, the keen round black eyes, and the three beauty marks. She had small, pretty hands. We can imagine how her face lit up when she saw the tiny figure of Fray Juan de Santo Matía appear. He came in with all the youthfulness of his twenty-five years upon him, with his oval face, dark complexion, keen eyes and penetrating glance. The Madre already knew, from the information of Fray Pedro de Orozco, that this friar of diminutive stature was mighty in virtue. She was soon convinced that he was mighty in talent too. She called him her 'little Seneca'.

As she had done in the case of Fray Antonio de Heredia, she explained to him her projects of reform for the friars. She already had the General's patent, authorizing the foundation of two monasteries in Castile. Fray John disclosed his intention of going over to the Carthusians. He desired a more retired life than that offered by the Carmelites. Being of a contemplative mind, he sought retirement from the world to give himself to God in a life of penance, prayer and mystical recollection. The Madre cut him short. All this he could find in our Lady's Order. And 'how much better would he serve the Lord there'. Fray John promised, but on one condition — 'that he did not have to wait too long'. The Madre, overjoyed, ran to tell her nuns. 'Help me, daughters, to give thanks to our Lord God, for we already have a friar and a half to begin the reform of the friars.'

If Fray John was thinking of exchanging the Carmelite Order for the Carthusian straightaway, considering his studies in Salamanca finished, he must have kept his intention secret from his superiors. Otherwise, after the conversation with St Teresa, it would not have been easy for him to return to the university.[6]

Similarly he must have kept silence concerning the arrangement he had come to with the Madre. His Carmelite superiors would not otherwise have allowed him to matriculate again. The fact is that he returned to Salamanca and on 24 November seems to have matriculated in the university as a theological student. Meanwhile the Madre, who was leaving for Ávila, Madrid, Toledo and Malagón, was busy looking for a house and transacting all the necessary business for the first monastery of Discalced friars. This was duly accomplished.

A year passed. It was the summer of 1568. Fray Juan de Santo Matía, now that the academic year 1567–8 was finished, considered his studies in the university ended and returned to Medina as an assistant teacher for the classes that were being held in the monastery of Santa Ana. In Salamanca, with its two cathedrals, the palaces of golden coloured stone and escutcheoned walls, the university with its plateresque façade and *artesonado* cloisters, the Colegios Mayores, the innumerable churches, monasteries and students' lodgings, the student of San Andrés left behind him only the insignificant relic of his entry in the matriculation register. . . .

When he came back to Medina, Madre Teresa was already there. She had arrived from Malagón on 1 July. As she was passing through Ávila, a gentleman of the city, don Rafael Mejía, offered her a small farm-house he had in Duruelo, a tiny place situated in the extreme west of the province, for the first monastery of Discalced friars. The Madre accordingly went to Durvelo on her way to Medina, making a détour to see the house. This was on 30 June.

She then spoke to Fray Antonio de Heredia and to Fray John of what was going to be the first monastery of Discalced friars. It was a small house: porch, room with an alcove, tiny kitchen. That was all. If they could make do with this for a time, God would remedy the situation. The Madre concealed nothing. When on 30 June, she visited the farm and planned its possible transformation into a monastery, Madre Antonia del Espíritu Santo, who was with her, said, 'It is clear, Madre, that no one, however good, could put up with it. Leave it alone.' But Padre Heredia and Fray John assured her that things would be to their liking even if it were 'in a pigsty', and the Madre considered the foundation as good as made.

All that was wanting now was permission from the two Car-

melite Provincials, the present holder of the office and his predecessor, to whom Rubeo, the Father-General, had entrusted the matter. The Madre undertook to obtain the permission. Meanwhile Padre Antonio was to collect what he could for the house. Fray John, having nothing to keep him in Medina, could go with the Madre to the foundation of Valladolid. There, in close contact with the nuns, he would learn something of the life of the Discalced religious while waiting for permission to come from the Provincials to go to Duruelo.

During the days the Madre was still in Medina, she saw a good deal of Fray John. She spoke of him to the nuns in terms of praise. 'Fray John [she told them] is one of the purest and most holy souls God has in his Church. Our Lord has poured into him great abundance of heavenly wisdom.' She arranged for them to go to confession to him. At the same time they prepared the Discalced habit for him and he tried it on. One day, in the homeliest setting, with Madre Teresa and her nuns on the inside of the parlour grille, and Fray John on the outside, a moving scene took place — the young Carmelite, having divested himself of the fine cloth of the habit of the Observance, put on that of frieze and serge and, his feet bare, presented the Madre with the penitent figure of the first Discalced friar. But this was only to try on the frieze and Fray John put on his Calced habit again.

It was 9 August when Madre Teresa set out on the journey to Valladolid. Six nuns went with her and a young postulant still in her worldly dress, named Francisca de Villalpando. The chaplain of the first convent of St Joseph's and Fray John of the Cross wearing the Calced habit also accompanied her. There were in the nuns' cart, with other equipment for the foundation, some yards of coarse cloth, white and brown to make the young postulant's habit. They left at nightfall and spent all the August night covering the twenty-eight miles or so which separated Medina from Valladolid. The road was almost flat, but sloped gently downwards after the slight rise of the ground as one left the Castilian town. Fray John talked to the nuns during the journey. He spoke to them of God, of virtue, of the practice of prayer. . . . Years later they remembered how short the twenty-eight-mile journey seemed to them as they listened to the young friar of the Discalced reform.

When it began to get light on St Lawrence's day, they found themselves at the domain of Río de Olmos, nearly a mile outside

Valladolid. This was the site assigned to the foundation. The Madre was disappointed. The domain was delightful and had a spacious and pleasant vegetable garden with views on to the river Pisuerga, which flowed past it, its deep bed shaded by poplars and grey elms. There was even a vineyard of green shoots and bunches of unripe grapes. But the place was certainly unhealthy, for it was damp, and it was too far from the town. Madre Teresa thought that 'it was folly for the nuns to live there', but she did not say so to her daughters lest she should discourage them.

Although she was tired, the Madre decided to go and hear Mass at the Carmelite fathers' monastery. The nuns, Julian of Ávila and Fray John of the Cross went with her. It was nearly two miles away from Río de Olmos, at the entrance to Valladolid on the Medina road, near the Campo gate at the extreme south-west of the city.[7] It was there that the Provincial of Castile, Fray Alonso González resided. He was 'old, a good man and without malice'. He had to give permission, jointly with the retired Provincial, Fray Ángel de Salazar, for P. Antonio de Heredia and Fray Juan de Santo Matía to initiate the Reform among the friars. At the same time that the Madre was putting in order the Río de Olmos property as a dwelling for her daughters, she negotiated with the Provincial for authorization for the Duruelo foundation. She had the help of her great friend the Bishop of Ávila, and of his sister, doña María de Mendoza. Their efforts were successful. Then she obtained the permission of Padre Ángel de Salazar. 'When I had such people on my side [wrote the Madre] it seemed to me that I lacked nothing.'

While this was going on — the setting up of the enclosure wall at Río de Olmos, the preparation of the little house for a convent, the obtaining of the two Provincials' permission — Fray John spent his days with the nuns. He was present at their prayers, observed their penances, made himself familiar with the details of the Discalced life. He acted as confessor and spiritual director to the young community. Although he was young and still a beginner in his office, Fray John proceeded with absolute liberty and authority. He advised, corrected, even punished. One day, the nun who was sacristan — we do not know her name — forgot to put out the corporals for Mass. When she noticed it, she went up to Fray John in private and said to him: 'Father, do me the kindness of putting these corporals which I forgot on the altar, and our mother Teresa may not notice.' 'Come, sister,' replied

Fray John, 'do not try to avoid correction. Take the corporals in your hand, openly, and pass in front of the Mother Foundress. If she asks you what you are carrying, say it is the corporals.' Fray John even dared to set himself against the opinion and views of Madre Teresa in certain matters of business. The Madre was vexed with him at times, but did not succeed in making him change his opinion in any way.

When the Provincials' permission for the Duruelo foundation was obtained, the Madre decided that, while Padre Antonio was settling his affairs in Medina and resigning his office as prior, Fray John should set off with all urgency to prepare don Rafael Mejía's house. Delay was dangerous. He must go into it as it was, before any set-back could arise. Once the work was begun, it would not be so easy for people to turn round and try to undo it.

Fray John already had a few things for the new monastery collected together. In Medina the Madre gave him vessels for the church, a part of the equipment for the house, and certain monies equal to the dowry of the first nun who entered there. For his part, Padre Antonio, who just then arrived at Valladolid to discuss certain matters with the Madre, brought among other things — he did not bring many — five hour-glasses to regulate the new monastic life with exactitude. As Fray John was leaving for Duruelo, the Madre gave him some holy pictures, unframed, and a drawing of Christ on the cross a novice had made. He now had something with which to adorn the cells and the little church.

He said good-bye to the Carmelite monastery near the Campo gate and left Río de Olmos with his precious but light package: unframed pictures, drawing of the crucifixion, the novice's money. He also carried a letter from the Madre for don Francisco de Salcedo, a gentleman of Ávila. He took the Pisuerga valley and probably followed the river bank. He would cross the Duero and then begin to go uphill over the Medina and Arévalo country to the highest part of the Castilian plateau. His route lay through Puente de Duero, Valdestillas, Olmedo, Arévalo, Ávila. Fray John arrived at Ávila, still wearing his Calced habit,[8] saw don Francisco de Salcedo and gave him Madre Teresa's letter. Clearly the bearer of it knew nothing of its contents. The Madre had written:

> May Jesus be with your honour. Glory be to God that, after seven or eight letters about business which I could not avoid, a little time re-

mains to me to rest from such things and write these lines so that you may know that I derive much consolation from what you write. And don't think it is time lost to write to me, for I need it at times, provided you don't say so much to me about your being old, which makes my head ache all over. . . . Let your honour talk to this father, I beg of you, and help him in this business, for although he is small of stature, I believe that he is great in God's eyes. It is certain that we shall miss him considerably here, for he is intelligent and suited to our way of life and so I believe our Lord has called him for this. There is no friar who does not speak well of him, for his life, although he has not been with them long, has been one of great penance. But it seems the Lord is leading him by the hand, for although we have had disagreements here about business several times, and I have been the occasion of them and have been vexed with him at times, we have never seen an imperfection in him. He has courage. But as he is alone, he needs all our Lord gives him so that he may work with all his heart. He will tell your honour how we are going on here.

She added as a postscript.

Once again I ask of your honour as a charity that you talk to this father and advise what seems to you best for his manner of living. The spirit which the Lord has given him and his virtue on a number of difficult occasions have impressed me, encouraging me to think we are making a good beginning. He is greatly given to prayer and is intelligent. May the Lord prosper him.

We do not know how long Fray John was detained in Ávila. Nor do we know the effect that the Madre's recommendation made on the mind of don Francisco de Salcedo or the help he gave the friar of the Reform. What is certain is that from Ávila, and without much delay, Fray John set out on the journey to Duruelo. He did not go alone. A man with a lay-brother's vocation went with him. He was to work as mason, transforming the little farm-house into a monastery. Once outside the walls, the road was at first rough and steep. They would cross the Adaja almost certainly by the Roman bridge to the west of the city. They would continue to climb steeply until the heights of Martiherrero, then the road went down hill until it disappeared in the broad and fertile Moraña plain. We know the itinerary used at the time — Ávila, Santo Tomé de Zabarcos, Salvadíos, Cantaracillo, Peñaranda. . . . Duruelo lay to the south, thirty long miles away which Fray John and his companion traversed in the space of one autumn day.[9]

Duruelo was a small place and little known. Not even those who lived in the district had heard of it. When a few months earlier Madre Teresa came to try to find it, nobody could give her information and she wandered about for a whole day, having lost her way and suffering from the scorching sun and from the dust thrown up from the ground along these narrow, interminable roads. Rather than a village it was an insignificant group of farmhouses hidden away at the extreme west of the diocese of Ávila, nestling in a tiny valley shut in east and west between gently sloping hills covered with evergreen oaks. To the south it enjoyed a wide horizon broken in the distance by the outlying spurs of the Gredos mountains. At the back of the house and very close to it, there was a tiny stream flowing from north to south. Around the valley the ground was sandy, a place for thistles and skylarks, but the roads were dry and dusty.

The peaceful, rural surroundings, with mysterious sounds in the distance, imperceptible yet at the same time penetrating as if they were entering not through the ears but through the eyes, gave the impression of something transcendent which it was impossible to define. When Fray John arrived, the crops were already reaped and harvested and the field of stubble, dry and yellowish, mingling with the grey colour of the fallow ground had something of the clean sweep of bare, untilled earth.

This was the setting in which Fray John found the house that don Rafael Mejía was giving them for the life of the Reform. He found it just as Madre Teresa had described it in Medina — the little porch, the room with the alcove, the garret, the tiny kitchen. . . . No more was needed. When at daybreak the lay-brother mason began to work at the transformation of the little house into a monastery on the basis of the arrangement indicated by Madre Teresa, Fray John, already wearing the rough frieze habit of the Reform and with feet unshod, helped in the work as a bricklayer's labourer. They worked without stopping. They did not even leave their task to eat. When — it was already nightfall — they considered the work finished, they had not yet broken their fast. Fray John then sent the lay-brother to ask for something to eat in the neighbourhood. The farmers gave him bread in abundance and that was all the sustenance they had on the first day spent in Duruelo. A meal of bread — Fray Juan de Santo Matía said himself later —'with which they were better satisfied than with pheasants.'

Fray John put up as decoration in the new monastery the unframed pictures which Madre Teresa gave him on leaving Valladolid. He put the drawing of Christ crucified over the holy water stoup. The rest was adorned with abundant crosses and skulls. In the field in front of the monastery, opposite the door of the little church, he set a great cross of wood with its corresponding skull. When the farm-workers, perhaps as they went to and fro to their ploughing, got near to the farm-house which was so familiar to them, but which was now transformed into a monastery, they asked themselves, impressed and astonished, 'Why should there be so many crosses and skulls?'

When the house was ready, Fray John advised the Provincial, Fray Alonso González, Madre Teresa and Padre Antonio de Heredia. While waiting for them to arrive for the formal opening — they did not come for almost another two months — he gave himself up to his heart's content to a life of prayer, penance and the apostolate. His brother, Francisco de Yepes, the bombazine worker of Medina, came, perhaps sent for by Fray John, and accompanied him when he went out to preach in the neighbouring villages. They left the monastery very early in the morning. Having arrived at the hamlet or homestead, Fray John heard confessions until it was time for Mass and for the sermon. Then he preached. When his task was finished, he left the church and the place quickly and set out on the return journey to Duruelo. Along the road there was a fountain. Fray John sat down by it with his brother Francisco and they ate a little bread, which was all the food they had brought. There a farm-worker came up to them. He had come from the parish priest to ask them to go and have a meal with him. Fray John excused himself but expressed his gratitude, and when the labourer had gone away, said to his brother Francisco, 'I am not accepting the charity they are offering us, because in the things I do for God, I do not want payment or thanks from anyone else.'[10] Although in the account the name of the hamlet is not given, it seems highly probable that it was Mancera de Arriba. It is a good three miles away from Duruelo and there is a fountain halfway along the road. It is a winding road, which goes up to the west, crosses the oak-woods and at times follows a ravine shut in by the oak-trees which give the path the appearance of a long monastic cloister.

On 27 November six Carmelites arrived at the monastery: namely, the Father-Provincial, Fray Alonso González, under

whose jurisdiction Duruelo came, his two *socii*, P. Lucas de Celis, a friar of Medina who was going to stay with the Discalced to see how he got on, but without changing his habit, Brother Fray José, still a deacon, and Fray Antonio de Heredia who had just resigned the priorship of Medina in favour of P. Alonso Fernández. They came for the opening of the foundation. Thus, counting Fray John, seven Carmelites would be present at it. The Provincial, 'a holy old man and really good', as we have already heard Madre Teresa say, was moved to the point of tears when he saw the tiny monastery with its crosses and skulls everywhere. Padre Antonio, on the other hand deplored the fact that Fray John had started before him and was already wearing the habit of the Reform.

On the following day, 28 November 1568, the First Sunday of Advent, the simple and moving ceremony took place. The Provincial said the Mass. Fray Antonio de Heredia, Fray Juan de Santo Matía and the deacon, Fray José, approached the altar and in the presence of the Provincial of Castile renounced Eugenio IV's mitigation of the primitive rule of St Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which they had professed up till then, and promised to live henceforward according to Innocent IV's correction of the same Rule, without mitigation. Afterwards the deed of foundation was drawn up. 'We, Fray Antonio de Jesús, Fray Juan de la Cruz and Fray José de Cristo, begin this day, 28 November 1568, to live the primitive Rule. . . .' The three Discalced friars signed. It was the first time they dropped their surnames. From this time onwards Fray John always signed 'Fray Juan de la Cruz'.[11]

The new community consisted, then, of five religious — the three who had renounced the mitigated Rule, Padre Lucas de Celis who continued to wear his Calced habit, and the lay-brother who had come with Fray John.[12] Before leaving, P. Alonso González left P. Antonio de Jesús as Vicar of the monastery.

In three months' time the Discalced life was organized to perfection. Madre Teresa, who passed through Duruelo in March 1569, has left us a vivid description:

> I arrived one morning, Fray Antonio de Jesús was sweeping the door of the church with the happy face he always has. I said to him:'What is this, father? What has become of honour?' He answered me in these words, saying how happy he was: 'I curse the time I had any.' As I went into the church, I was astounded to see the spirit the Lord had

put there. And I was not the only one, for two merchants, friends of mine, who had come with me from Medina, did nothing but weep. There were so many crosses, so many skulls.

I cannot forget a small cross of wood there was by the holy water — it had fastened to it a picture of Christ made on paper which seemed to excite more devotion than if it had been a very carefully made image. The choir was in the garret. The centre part was sufficiently lofty to enable them to say the Hours, but they had to stoop a good deal to get in far enough to hear Mass. In the two corners nearest the church they had two small hermitages (full of hay — for the place was very cold), in which there was only room for them to lie prostrate or be seated, for the roof was almost on their heads. There were two tiny windows looking on to the altar and two stones for pillows. Above were their crosses and skulls. I knew that from the end of Matins until Prime they did not retire to their cells but remained there in prayer — for their prayer was so deep that it sometimes happened to them to go to Prime with a considerable quantity of snow on their habits and not to feel it. . .

They went out to preach in many places nearby that were without any Christian teaching — and for this reason also I am glad that the house was founded there, for they told me there was no monastery there or any facilities for building one, which was a great pity. . . . They went, as I say, five or seven miles away to preach, unshod (for then they had not the sandals which they were afterwards ordered to wear), and in considerable cold and snow; and after they had preached and heard confessions, they came back for a meal in their own house very late. In their happiness they made little account of it all.[14]

Madre Teresa took advantage of her visit to deal with 'certain things' doubtless referring to the organization of the Discalced life of the friars. Alarmed at the constant and severe penances they had undertaken, she asked them to moderate their rigour a little. She was afraid that the devil would take advantage of this, as a means to make them fall sick, and that in this way the work would be ruined. But they paid little heed and continued to devote themselves to mortification with full intensity. When the Madre said goodbye to them she went away praising the Lord, 'For I well understood that this was a greater favour than the one he showed me in founding houses of nuns.'

There had been a heavy snowfall. The evergreen oaks on the neighbouring hillside, stiff with snow, seemed like almond trees in blossom. Of the paths no trace could be seen. P. Antonio went out to preach. Fray John did not think he ought to go on foot and

they tried to find a little donkey which he could ride — a little donkey and some panniers with hay where he could put his bare feet to protect them from the intense cold, for P. Antonio was no longer young. Fray John helped him to mount at the monastery door. He set him firmly on the donkey, tucked up his habit, covered his feet with hay. For greater security he fastened the rough frieze habit with a strong pin. He did not, however, take sufficient care and the pin not only went into the vicar's habit but also into his leg. P. Antonio complained but Fray John said to him humorously, 'Don't say anything, father, for thus it is more securely fastened.' When, not until nightfall, P. Antonio returned from his apostolic mission and had finished the frugal collation in the refectory, as Vicar he said, as he did every day, 'Tell me, P. Fray John of the Cross, the faults you have noticed to-day.' Padre Fray John got up from his seat at table and said, 'Your reverence complained this morning when the pin stuck into you.'

Soon the beneficial influence of the life of the Discalced friars began to be felt in the neighbourhood. The simple people who were, as we learn from Madre Teresa, devoid of any instruction, received the teachings of the friars of Duruelo with the eagerness with which the earth, dried up through lack of water, receives the autumnal rains. They responded gratefully, giving alms of the fruits of the earth which were the fruits of their own labour. It was a sight to watch the women workers coming to the doors of the little monastery with their small baskets filled with bread and vegetables. Thus, although the Discalced friars made it a rule not to beg 'along the streets with bowls or with wallets, or in any other way which might be an occasion of distraction', they never lacked essentials. They even had more than they needed.

A visit came to cheer them a few months after that which Madre Teresa paid them — that of the Provincial, Padre Alonso González. He had promised this on the day of the foundation's opening and he turned up at Duruelo in 1569, probably in the spring. Doubtless satisfied with the way the foundation was going and to facilitate the progress of the Discalced friars, he raised the house to the ranks of a priory, which meant that they were authorized to receive novices. He appointed Padre Antonio prior and Fray John of the Cross sub-prior. This measure had its effect and in a few months' time — September or October, judging by the date of the profession they made in Mancera the

following year — two postulants arrived. They were named Fray Juan Bautista and Fray Pedro de los Ángeles. From this moment Fray John of the Cross began his office as spiritual master of the Reform.

A year and a half after the foundation, in Lent 1570, Padre Antonio was invited to preach in Mancera de Abajo, a neighbouring hamlet, some three miles or so away from Duruelo. It was the lord of the manor, don Luis de Toledo, a relative of the Duke of Alba, who sent for him and gave him hospitality in his palace. Padre Antonio won the sympathies of all. He was an excellent preacher, pleasant to look at and always smiling. Near the palace don Luis had had a church built for a valuable altar-piece brought from Flanders — an altar-piece so beautiful that Madre Teresa had never seen anything finer in her life. Don Luis offered the church to the Discalced friars, inviting them to transfer their foundation there. Duruelo was already too small; it was not big enough to contain the friars already living in it. After consulting the Provincial, Padre Antonio accepted the offer in his name and the work of construction, which did not last three months, was begun.[15]

On 11 June the buildings were ready and the transfer from Duruelo was made. At the desire of the Provincial, this was to be the first solemn public function carried out by the Reform. He himself some time earlier commissioned P. Fray Alonso de Villalba, a Calced friar of Salamanca, whom we already know as a fellow-student of Fray Juan in the college of San Andrés and in his attendance at the university lectures, to preach the sermon. There were present the Provincial, Fray Alonso González, with his *socius;* Padre Martín García, prior of the college of Salamanca, and the prior of the monastery of San Pablo de los Perdones, Fray Antonio de San Juan, who was accompanied by two fathers of his community, Fray Jerónimo Altomiros and Fray Martín de la Cruz. With these were other clerics and gentlemen of rank. All accompanied the Discalced friars in a solemn procession which set out from Duruelo and slowly covered the three long miles between there and Mancera. In it walked Fray John of the Cross with his novices. The Discalced — their faces thin, habits short, narrow and coarse, their feet bare — must have been conspicuous among the rest on this plain of Castile, now lambent with harvests and crops and the seeding plants, and resplendent with light and the vastness of its horizons on this spring day.

They had to follow a north-westerly direction, cross part of the valley, climb the hill which goes from north to south and then come down again on the western slope. There lay Mancera de Abajo, where the lordly palace of don Luis stood out prominently with its high stone walls inset with granite, its vast windows, and its armorial bearings over the main doorway. Very near, exactly opposite the palace, was the tiny improvised monastery.[16]

At the entrance to Mancera they waited, also in procession, for the priest and people who conducted them to the church. The Provincial, Fray Alonso González, sang the Mass. It was not Fray Alonso de Villalba, as arranged originally, who preached, but Padre Antonio de Jesús.[17] The second house of the Reform was thus opened.

Duruelo was abandoned. The poor little church, the tiny low-roofed half-open cells, the walls covered with crosses and skulls . . . all would gradually crumble away in that peaceful, deserted solitude.[18]

6

FATHER-MASTER OF THE DISCALCED

One manuscript states that the Mancera community on the day of its foundation consisted of fifteen or seventeen religious. This does not seem possible. How could they have lived in Duruelo, from where they had been transferred, if the poor little monastery had only two small, narrow cells, a tiny kitchen, the choir with its very low roof, and the little church? Moreover, we know the names of only six friars — Fray Antonio de Jesús, Fray John of the Cross, Fray José de Cristo, Fray Juan Bautista, Fray Pedro de los Ángeles, and Fray Antonio de San Pablo.

Fray Juan Bautista and Fray Pedro de los Ángeles arrived at Mancera as novices. After four months — they must already have spent eight as novices in Duruelo — they made their profession. Fray Antonio, the prior, was absent. He had gone to Madrid to tender obedience to Father-Master Fray Pedro Fernández, prior of the Dominicans of Atocha, recently appointed Apostolic Commissioner of the Carmelites of Castile by St Pius V. Fray John of the Cross was, then, superior of the monastery at Mancera. The first two novices of the Reform made profession at his hands on 8 October 1570. The formula was recorded in the register of the monastery.

> I, Fray Juan Bautista, native of the city of Ávila and son of Juan Bautista and Juana Sánchez, his wife, make my profession at the hands of P. Fray Juan de la Cruz, sub-prior of this house, the Very Reverend P. Fray Antonio de Jesús being prior, and I promise obedience, chastity and poverty to God our Lord and to the Virgin Mary and to the Most Reverend Father Master Fray Juan Bautista of Ravenna, Prior General of this Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and to his successors, according to the said primitive Rule of the said Order, until death. This eighth day of the month of October of the year 1570.

Fray José de Cristo and Fray Pedro de los Ángeles signed as witnesses. Then was entered the profession of Fray Pedro and across it Fray John of the Cross put his signature.[1]

While these things were happening in Mancera, Madre Teresa was present at the foundation of a new monastery of Discalced friars at Pastrana. Ambrosio Mariano Azaro, a cultured Neapolitan who had fought in the battle of St Quentin, was the engineer chosen by Philip II for the project to make the Guadalquivir navigable from Seville up to Córdoba and for the work of bringing water for irrigation from the Tagus to Aranjuez. He was living a hermit's life on the Sierra Morena and was a man of both enterprise and fervour. He was won over by Madre Teresa and offered her a hermitage which Prince Ruy Gómez had given him, situated on a hill rather less than a mile to the south of the town of Pastrana, for a monastery for Discalced friars. The permission of the Provincial of the Carmelites was obtained, and in view of the haste of the zealous Azaro, the Madre had the habits prepared, as she prepared that for Fray John of the Cross; on 11 June 1569 she gave the Neapolitan the habit in the chapel of the Prince and Princess of Éboli. With Ambrosio, Juan Narduch, his companion in his hermit's life and like him a Neapolitan, also received the habit. Henceforth Azaro would be known as Fray Ambrosio Mariano de San Benito and Juan Narduch as Fray Juan de la Miseria. Madre Teresa then sent for P. Antonio de Jesús, as prior of the first monastery of the Reform. He came from Mancera to Pastrana and on 13 July the monastic life of the Discalced reform was solemnly inaugurated in the hermitage of San Pedro.[2]

Novices began to arrive. Alcalá, which was not far distant, being about thirty-five miles to the south-east, heard of the life of penance and contemplation of the Discalced friars in their hermitage, and students arrived from the university there. Pastrana became the first important novitiate of the Reform. An authentically Carmelite direction was needed, in order to provide a restricting framework for the neophytes' fervour which might otherwise distort the life of the Reform through the influence of the eremitical system for which Mariano Azaro and Juan Narduch had been trained. Madre Teresa considered that the presence of Fray John of the Cross, the great master of souls, who fully understood the secret of the Carmelite Discalced life, was imperative. She informed Padre Antonio of this and Fray John's

transfer to Pastrana was decided upon. Padre Antonio himself must have brought this decision back when he returned from Madrid in the middle of October 1570.

Fray John set out immediately. We have details of his journey. Fray Pedro de los Ángeles, the first lay-brother of the Reform,[3] professed a few days earlier at the hands of Fray John of the Cross himself as we have seen, accompanied him. They travelled on foot and unshod. They took no provisions, but begged their food as alms in the villages they passed through, and from what they received gave food to the poor they met on their journey. At the end of each day's travelling, when darkness fell, they spent the night in the nearest village or hamlet. They never failed to find comfortable inns or rich houses of noble families who offered them shelter, but Fray John always refused such offers and they slept in small humble dwellings, at times in barns or in some yard which was anything but clean.[4]

We do not know for certain the route followed by Fray John of the Cross and his companion. The road mentioned in itineraries of the sixteenth century is that through Ávila, Navalperal, Robledo de Chavela, Navalagamella, Móstoles, Madrid, Alcalá, Pastrana — a journey of more than a hundred miles over rough ground across sierras, ravines and land under tillage. In the final stages there were barren hills, knolls covered with evergreen oaks, rust-red earth, groves of oak-trees, deep gullies. It is not known how many days Fray John and the brother took. Half a century later the latter still remembered the spiritual conversations and the acts of virtue with which Fray John made the difficulties of the journey, long as it was, across Old and New Castile, lighter for him.

Pastrana was protected on the north by the small hill, bare of vegetation, behind it. The houses, their roofs the colour of the soil, were huddled together and clustered around the great palace built of solid blocks of stone, as if to defend it at the rear and on each side. They left free only the side facing the sun, where the view took in the farther bank of the Tagus. It was the usual residence of the Prince and Princess of Éboli. The landscape was austere. The hills, rugged and bare of vegetation, whitish-grey in colour, dropped down abruptly to narrow valleys. The place was suited to the penitential hermit's life. Down below, about two miles from the town on its southern side, breaking into the narrow *vega*,[5] could be discerned the chalky hill of San Pedro with its hermitage and dovecot.[6]

When Fray John reached the monastery, he must have experienced an inward satisfaction. Here were vast vistas to the south over a rich plain which widened out until it disappeared on the banks of the Tagus, caves in the rock below the hermitage, and above all, solitude. Even the high mountains which in the form of an amphitheatre surrounded the smaller hill like a gigantic rampart helped to give the landscape an air of mystical retreat.

Fray John found in the 'Virgin's Dovecot' some fourteen religious, without counting Padre Baltasar, the superior, who was then in Alcalá engaged in negotiations for a foundation. There were four professed and ten novices. Among the former were Fray Ambrosio Mariano de San Benito and Fray Juan de la Miseria. The other two were Fray Gabriel de la Asunción, a native of the town, and Fray Bartolomé de San Alberto, who had come from the friars of the Observance. We also know the names of the novices — Gaspar de Santa María, Pedro de los Apóstoles, Agustín de los Reyes, Cirilo de San Miguel, Alberto de San Francisco, Ángel de San Gabriel, Ambrosio de San Pedro, Pedro de San Jerónimo, Pedro de la Cruz and Eliseo de San Ildefonso.[7] It was quite a little seminary.

They were not uneducated young men. There were subjects of distinction like Fray Ambrosio, former religious of other Orders, like Fray Pedro de los Apóstoles who had been a Calced friar, highly gifted university students, like Ángel de San Gabriel and Agustín de los Reyes, of whom Padre Deza, professor at Alcalá, said that he did not know a student in the university more deeply versed in theology.

Fray John of the Cross organized the novitiate on the lines of those of Duruelo and Mancera. He gave rules, established practices of mortification common to all, and his verbal teachings were charters of spiritual perfection. He gave special instruction to one of the professed, Fray Gabriel de la Asunción, so that he might be able to act as novice-master until whoever was to exercise that function permanently should be appointed.

When this was done Fray John, probably with the same companion as on the outward journey, Fray Juan Pedro de los Ángeles, went back the way he had come and returned to his own monastery. He had stayed in Pastrana just about a month. In the middle of November of the same year, 1570, he was already in Mancera, as we learn from a visit he received there. It was

from three Discalced nuns who had come from Ávila, being sent for by Madre Teresa for the recently made foundation of Salamanca — Juana de Jesús, María de San Francisco and Ana de Jesús, the latter still a novice. On their journey from Ávila to Salamanca they passed through Mancera, which was on their route, and stopped at the Discalced friars' monastery. The young, good-looking and intelligent novice, Ana de Jesús, for the first time met Fray John of the Cross with whom years later in Andalusia she was to have very close spiritual contact. It was for her that the saint wrote the commentary on the *Spiritual Canticle* and he dedicated it to her.

During their visit to Mancera, both the prior, Fray Antonio de Jesús, and the sub-prior, Fray John of the Cross, told the Discalced nuns how Madre Teresa and her companion, Antonia del Espíritu Santo, had explained to them how to live the life of the Reform on the visit they made to Duruelo the year before.

Meanwhile, Madre Teresa who was in Salamanca was putting the finishing touches to the details and conditions upon which the foundation of Alba de Tormes was to be made. The Duke's bailiff, Francisco Velázquez, and his wife, Teresa Layz, who offered a house and revenues for the foundation of the Discalced nuns, were concerned in the matter. When all was arranged satisfactorily, the Mother Foundress travelled from Salamanca to Alba. On 24 January 1571 the deeds were signed, and on the following day, the feast of the Conversion of St Paul, the convent was opened.

There we find Fray John of the Cross. We do not know if he had gone to Salamanca to accompany the Madre or if he went directly from Mancera to Alba. His presence there was not simply to honour and give support to the foundation. He took part in the reconstruction of Francisco Velázquez' houses for use as a convent, taking equal shares in the work with the workmen and the bricklayers. He worked at the pulling down of walls, clearing away the débris with a basket, and cleared the cells and cloisters. At the same time he gave the nuns spiritual care. Long afterwards they remembered the first Discalced friar's gentle readiness to serve in these tasks on the day of the foundation. The manuscript account gives us to understand that he also preached sermons to the nuns and heard their confessions.

After a short time Fray John set out on a fresh journey to New Castile. It was the month of April. Padre Antonio de Jesús had

just arrived at Mancera from Madrid. Fray Juan Bautista, one of the first two Duruelo novices, whom we already know, accompanied him and they brought letters patent from the Apostolic Commissioner, Fray Pedro Fernández, for Fray John of the Cross. On 1 November of the previous year, 1570, a College of Discalced friars, the first house of studies of the Reform, had been founded in Alcalá.[8] Certain professed friars from Pastrana, among them Fray Agustín de los Reyes, were already there following courses of study at the university. The college promised to be of the greatest importance for the Discalced. It had no Rector, P. Baltasar de Jesús, prior of Pastrana, who had founded it, acting as provisional superior. What was needed, then, was a Rector worthy of the importance of the college and of the mission which it was called upon to fulfil, and the Apostolic Commissioner was asked to make the appointment. Fray Pedro Fernández sent for P. Antonio, who at this time was in Pastrana, in order to consult him. He suggested the name of Fray John of the Cross. The Commissioner made out the document and Fray Antonio took it from Madrid to the sub-prior of Mancera. The letters patent appointed him Rector of the College of Alcalá and ordered him to take up his duties at once.

Fray John set out immediately. It was the month of April of that same year, 1571. Once more the lay-brother, Fray Pedro de los Ángeles, accompanied him. Fray Pedro left the new Rector at his college in Alcalá and took the road back to Mancera. Fray John of the Cross, on the other hand, would not again set foot in those solitary places in which the Reform had first seen the light of day.[9]

The college at Alcalá de Henares was near Cisneros' university, being almost at the back of it, in the Calle de Colegios in the south-east of the city, a few steps from the water-carriers' gate.[10] On finding himself in such surroundings, Fray John of the Cross must have remembered his own days as a university student in Salamanca. In spite of the difference between the two cities — Salamanca is built on hilly ground, is larger and its buildings are richer — they had many features in common — the narrow streets, the numerous gables and convents, the bustle of student life, the variety of religious habits in the streets . . . even down to the river which flowed close by between banks of poplars and willows.

Alcalá University was then in its full flowering. Although the

Cardinal founder's great projects did not come to complete fruition, it continued to be, with Salamanca, the great centre of culture in Spain.

We know nothing definite about the way in which Fray John organized the academic life of his college. Because there were not enough of their own professors, the Discalced students were obliged to follow the courses in the university. There is clear evidence that they did so. What courses they followed and under what professors is a matter of conjecture. In the academic year 1571–2, Palacios and Pérez were the Arts professors and explained the *summulae*. For Logic there were Irana and Leceta, for Physics, Lozano and Val, for Metaphysics, Gallego and Falces. The works of Villalpando, the distinguished restorer of Aristotelean philosophy in the university, were in all hands. A full reaction was in force against the Sophists, who in the first years of the foundation of the School had imported their ridiculous dialectical artifices from the University of Paris.

Villalpando's work embraced the whole of Aristotelean philosophy — the *Logic*, the *Categories*, the *Perihermenias*, *In octo Libros*, *Physicorum*, *De caelo*, *De generatione*, *De corruptione*. These latter were of very recent publication, having been edited in 1568. The new procedure consisted in first reading Aristotle's original text. It was then examined critically, translated into Latin, commented upon and finally its doctrinal content defended or refuted. Lectures began at seven in the morning and ended at six in the evening. In Theology there were the Chairs of St Thomas, of Ockham and of Scotus, as in the University of Salamanca. The most frequented and important lectures were the Arts courses. There was the same proportion among the Doctors. While you could count forty in Theology, ten in Canon Law and fourteen in Medicine, in Arts they numbered a round hundred.

This was the cultural setting in which the students of the college presided over by Fray John of the Cross spent a considerable part of the day. They went to the *alma mater*, as if to church. Recollected, and with lowered eyes, they entered the handsome building with its plateresque doorway, built of half-gilded stone, passing beneath the great imperial escutcheon with its two-headed eagle, and the arms and Franciscan cord, in stone, of Cardinal Cisneros.[11]

In the spiritual sphere, the rectorship of Fray John bore excellent fruit. The students unconsciously attracted attention as

they walked through the streets on their way to the Schools. It was noticed that they were silent, modest and kept their eyes down; people saw their bare feet, their poor habit, the white cloak which was conspicuous against the dark grey background of streets and buildings. Men stopped to watch them go by. There were even some who followed them to see if they always preserved that modesty of which they seemed to make some show in their going to and fro from the college to the university.

The Rector set the example. He wore a habit of very coarse frieze which scarcely reached to the ankles; he went without sandals and on his face, which was swarthy in colour, with the signs of a life of penance was a look of sweet peace which cheered the hearts of those who passed him in the street. In this way he gained many students for the Reform. One of them was the future P. Inocencio de San Andrés, who went to confession to Fray John. The university student explained to him his desires of embracing the Carmelite life in the Reform and the Rector advised him to go to Pastrana. There he was clothed with the habit, and years later was to be a subject of Fray John at Monte Calvario and at Baeza, and one of his most faithful, distinguished and enthusiastic disciples.

There were some who thought the austerity and recollection implanted by Fray John in the college to be exaggerated. They said so to the Apostolic Commissioner, Fray Pedro Fernández, who had come from Madrid to visit the house of Discalced friars. The Commissioner kept his eyes open. When the visit was over and he said good-bye, he assembled the students and encouraged them to continue in the same way. 'There is plenty of study in the world' the learned Dominican said to them, 'and little of the life of penance.' He charged them that even if they should die in the undertaking, they must continue to combine their study with monastic fervour. This was ratification of the educative methods of the Rector which could be summed up in an aphorism which from that time became classic in the colleges of the Reform: 'Religious and student, but religious first.' This meant that if the Rector in the formation of his students gave primary importance to spiritual things, he did not underestimate the value of the intellectual aspect. Apart from what his writings reveal about this, for in them the element of study stands out at least as much as the practical side, we have first-hand knowledge of his attitude and criterion at this particular time, from the following incident.

During his stay in Alcalá, certain persons asked him to write the life of Saints Justus and Pastor, patrons of their church. Fray John excused himself, and explaining later why he did not write the work, said it was because he had been making a book of devotions instead of history. He thus knew how to give to the cultural aspect of things what was its due.

One unpleasant event forced Fray John to absent himself for some time from the college at Alcalá and to go back to Pastrana.[12] There was rebellion in the novitiate. P. Ángel de San Gabriel, the Rector's former novice in that monastery, was novice-master. He was from Ciempozuelos, that is from Madrid, and was young, energetic and fervent. He came to the Reform from the lecture-rooms of Alcalá, full of fervour during his novitiate, energetic, and able to withstand hardships, but scrupulous. Coming to Pastrana as novice-master, he determined to lead his novices to the most heroic heights of virtue. All difficulties seemed to him trifles. The extraordinary penances of the fathers of the desert were emulated and surpassed with excess. Sometimes the detail of what was done was absurd, though not without its tragic aspect. The shoulders of a novice were bared and he was lashed until by his prayer he should succeed like the prophet Elias in making fire come down from heaven upon a pile of wet wood. In this way it would be known whether or not he was perfect. On other occasions, P. Ángel made them go out on the mountains without the habit and dressed in rags; they had to cut firewood, carry it in bundles on their shoulders and go as far as the town to sell it in the public market. It was not sufficient to let it go to the first bidder. They had to ask for high prices so that the sale should be more difficult and the novice thus receive impertinent remarks and ill-will from the buyers. The novice-master also sent them to teach doctrine in the market-places, to accompany funerals, to ask for alms from door to door, even to urge the neighbours at Pastrana to go to the monastery and force the superiors to admit them to profession. As a result, novices became scarce.

Some bore it with meek docility. Others made a joke of the ridiculous side of certain practices.[13] There were some, however, who began to be disturbed and restless. They had come to the Reform to seek the contemplative life and they found themselves confronted with a strange complexity of practices which frustrated it. Moreover no temperament could stand up against such con-

tinual and formidable penances. They believed they had mistaken their vocation and thought of leaving the Discalced friars. This happened to Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, the future Provincial of the Reform, who was a novice at this time. Things were going so badly that Gracián thought that the Pastrana novitiate was going to wreck Madre Teresa's whole work, and that the end would be that it would be discredited and they would all be forced to take the Calced habit.

The unsatisfactory situation gradually developed into a censure of the novice-master. Fray Angel de San Gabriel wrote to Madre Teresa complaining and defending himself, and the Madre sent the letter to P. Domingo Bañez and asked his advice. From the distinguished Dominican's reply — P. Gabriel's letter is not extant — it was clear that the master of novices blamed such censures on the ill-will of those who were the least careful about observance. The document of Bañez, orderly and absolutely clear, is a round disavowal of the procedures of Fray Ángel de San Gabriel, always, as was logical, making allowances for his right intention.

> That Father-Master of novices [wrote P. Bañez to Madre Teresa] seems to me a man of good zeal and good desires, and since he seeks light, there is no reason to deny it him. May Jesus Christ give it to him and teach him the height of all perfection: *Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde*. . . . External practices and mortifications are of considerable value in gaining this humility, but they must be undertaken with the prudence of which it is written. . . . It is not prudent mortification that a friar who has made profession of the profound contemplation there is in the primitive Rule should go out and roam about without absolute necessity — much less dress himself up as a poor man, casting aside the habit. . . . To want to imitate the Jesuit fathers in this is to practise a different form of religious life, not the Carmelite one. They [i.e. the Jesuits] have no definite habit. Their profession is not contemplation, or silence, or fasting, or the continual observance of choir. . . . The friar and the monk have no need to seek practices from other forms of religious life. Let them follow their profession and be silent, for they will be holy without the world seeing their mortifications. That zeal for edifying one's neighbour seems to me very rash.
>
> What is said of St Francis, that people thought him mad and that he stripped off his fine clothes and dressed as the poorest of the poor, I love and reverence, for it was the impulse of the Holy Spirit; but to want to imitate these rare deeds without that impulse is matter for ridicule. . . . If this father says that he feels that there is a desire and impulse towards

such practices, I should like them to make experiment of it in other and better authorized exercises. I like the fact that, when they have to eat at eleven, this father says they eat a snack at nine, because the meal is late. I should like [to see] the impulse here. . . . I don't like what this father says, that he will get melancholy if they refuse him what he wants. He is very determined for one, as he says, so new and so inexperienced. If he is looking for mortification, this is one in very truth: to believe that he is mistaken.

Were the complaints and self-justifications of P. Ángel de San Gabriel a protest against the attitude of Fray John of the Cross, who, when he arrived from Alcalá, suppressed the outings, reduced the penances and moderated practices of premature zeal for one's neighbour? This is what P. Alonso gives us to understand. In that case Padre Bañez' letter was the fullest and warmest confirmation of the procedure of Fray John of the Cross. It also serves to fix the date at which he was at Pastrana, putting right that inaccuracy. The letter was signed in Salamanca on 23 April 1572.

How long did Fray John of the Cross remain in Pastrana? We only know that when the fervour of the Father-Master was moderated and the novices pacified, he returned as Rector to his college at Alcalá. The life at Pastrana did not undergo further vicissitudes. The fervour, the withdrawal from the world, the reasonable penances, the holy customs established by Fray John of the Cross, made of that novitiate the great nursery of the Reform.[14] When the customs which were there observed were drawn up in writing, to avoid forgetfulness or distortion through a change of masters or the merciless change that comes with time, they bore at the foot, authorizing them, the signature of Fray John of the Cross.[15]

Adjoining the hermitage of San Pedro, almost directly beneath it, there is still the rocky cave, wide and deep, with the small opening towards the east, with its bed of stone and table carved in the rock, where, according to tradition, the great Reformer of the Calced friars spent so many hours.

7

ÁVILA OF THE KNIGHTS

It was 6 October 1571. Madre Teresa, in obedience to an order from the Apostolic Commissioner, Fray Pedro Fernández, who had appointed her prioress, and also to a loving request she received from our Lord, was preparing to take up her office at the Convent of the Incarnation.

It was a spacious convent, situated to the north of the city, some five hundred paces outside the walls, almost exactly opposite the entrance to the Carmelite monastery. Cut off from Ávila by the little valley of the Ajates, it was bounded on its rear side by arid, uneven fields, dotted with large granite stones. It had brick arches and a graceful bell-tower, which overlooked the city, but the main building was of stone.[1]

When Madre Teresa arrived at the Convent of the Incarnation from that of St Joseph it was the home of one hundred and thirty hungry and disgruntled nuns. They were hungry because of the state of penury in which they were living, which, as early as 1567, compelled the Father-General, Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo, who visited them, to forbid them to receive novices lest they should die of hunger. They were disgruntled because Madre Teresa, not elected but imposed on them as prioress by the Apostolic Commissioner, was coming, and they feared that she would implant in the convent the strict life of the Discalced nuns.

The new prioress took an initial precaution. From the little convent of St Joseph, where she had been staying since her arrival from Medina, she sent a message to the Incarnation, requesting that all the secular persons who were living in the convent should leave. When Madre Teresa left St Joseph's to take up her office, there were no longer any lay persons at the Incarnation. She arrived at the portress's lodge accompanied by the Provincial of the Calced friars, Fray Ángel de Salazar,[2] together with his companion, Ledesma, the mayor of Ávila, Mateo

Arévalo Sedeño, and some constables. In addition, certain people came along out of curiosity, among them the incumbent of the church of San Vicente, who had come down from the city, doubtless informed by the seculars who had been turned out of the convent of the rebellious attitude of the nuns, who were prepared to put all the obstacles they could in the way of the coming of the new prioress.[3]

When the Provincial knocked at the enclosure door, the nuns inside broke into cries of protest. They abused the Provincial and Madre Teresa and refused to open. Their cries could be heard from the city walls. In the face of this recalcitrant attitude the Provincial tried to open the door leading from the church to the lower choir. Meanwhile the Madre remained outside, by the outer door of the church, sitting on one of the stone seats. She was wearing her white cloak. When the nuns realized that Fray Ángel de Salazar meant to force the door of the lower choir, they ran there from the portress's lodge, reiterating their cries, insults and protests. The Provincial said, as if he were giving in, 'Then you don't want Madre Teresa de Jesús,' and made as if to withdraw. One nun, doña Catalina de Castro, reacted energetically, exclaiming, 'We want her and we love her,' and intoned the *Te Deum*, which many of the others took up in chorus. The small door was opened and the Madre entered the choir. When those who had accompanied Madre Teresa so far withdrew, something could still be heard from a distance of the scene made by the one hundred and thirty nuns who, some in favour and others against, must have been harrying the new prioress with protests, counterprotests, disputes and recriminations.

The Madre's tact soon calmed their agitation. But she aspired to something more than to govern this convent, which was so dear to her, peacefully. It was there she had exchanged the orange dress with its black trimmings for the dark brown habit and white cloak. There she had lived for twenty-five years, receiving the greatest favours from heaven. There she conceived her great work of the Carmelite reform, and it was from there she left to make the first foundation at St Joseph's. Many even of her first and best collaborators had come from the Incarnation. Madre Teresa must have felt sad. The convent was lacking in material resources and disorganized as to spiritual things.

The nuns did not eat in the common refectory, for the convent had no bread to give them. Each one ate in her cell what she

could manage to obtain from outside. Many constantly went out of the cloister to satisfy the pangs of hunger in the houses of their family and friends. Those who spent long periods of time out of the convent upon this pretext were numerous. Madre Teresa herself, when she had been there six months, ate nothing from the convent except bread, and even to do that grieved her. All this contributed to the lack of regularity and recollection. The parlours — there were three or four — were always thronged. Friends and relatives in abundance, for the majority of the nuns were from Ávila, came down there from the city with unfailing regularity.

From the first day the Madre worked hard to remedy this poverty in the convent. Well-informed beforehand of the situation of the community, even before she came she asked for alms from her benefactors. After taking up office, she redoubled her requests to doña María de Mendoza, doña Magdalena de Ulloa and the Duchess of Alba, who on one occasion gave her as much as a hundred ducats. She even asked her sister, Juana de Ahumada, for some turkeys for her poor nuns.

But she was even more concerned about the nuns' spiritual welfare. This was hard work. She allows us to catch a glimpse of it in a letter she wrote when she had been in the Incarnation a month:

> Señora [she wrote to doña Luisa de la Cerda], as to anyone who has lived in the peace of our houses and now finds herself in this pandemonium, I don't know how she lives. All things considered, glory be to God, there is peace, which is no small thing, and they are gradually giving up their entertainments and liberties; for although they [the nuns] are so good... to change one's customs is death, as they say. They bear it well. They hold me in much respect, but where there are one hundred and thirty, your ladyship will easily understand the care that will be necessary to put things right.

However, Madre Teresa was gradually succeeding. In six months' time she could write to doña María de Mendoza:

> Our Lord is to be praised for the change he has wrought in them. The most recalcitrant are now more contented and better towards me. This Lent there have been visits from neither man nor woman, even if they were relatives, which is a new thing for this house. They accept everything with great peace. Truly there are great servants of God here and almost all are improving.

But in this arduous task she found herself alone. Moreover, she was ill. Six weeks after she arrived at the Incarnation, manifold sufferings came upon her: angina, severe pains in the side, persistent fever which prevented her from leaving her cell except to hear Mass. 'The soil [of Ávila] has proved hostile to me to such an extent that it does not seem I was born there', she wrote on 7 March to doña María de Mendoza. She needed help. The Madre's mind turned to Fray John of the Cross, the great Father of the Reform, and she decided to ask for him as spiritual director to her nuns.

The Apostolic Commissioner was in Salamanca. Madre Teresa, from whom the difficulties which might stand in the way of her desire were not hidden, sent the chaplain of the convent of St Joseph, Julián de Ávila, to Salamanca to negotiate personally with the Commissioner for the necessary permission. The chaplain, as a first-hand witness, was commissioned to explain the need the convent had of the assistance of Fray John of the Cross. He did so. Fray Pedro Fernández put forward arguments against it — difficulties on the part of the nuns who, since they were Calced and accustomed to the direction of the Fathers of the Observance, were not going to view the imposing of a Discalced friar favourably. Padre Fernández must have remembered what happened when the Madre arrived as prioress. There might also be difficulties on the part of the Calced fathers themselves, for they had been directors of the community since the days of the convent's foundation. The Madre's reasons, however, carried weight. They were the exact reflection of a pressing need, and the Commissioner made out the appointment and handed it to Julián de Ávila. The latter returned to the Incarnation and gave the document to Madre Teresa.

As soon as she was certain of the coming of Fray John of the Cross, Madre Teresa told the nuns: 'I am bringing you, ladies, a saint for confessor.' We do not know when or how notification of his appointment was given to Fray John, then Rector in Alcalá de Henares. Nor do we know the date of his arrival at the Incarnation. We know, however, that by September 1572 the excellent results of his spiritual teaching at the Incarnation had already begun to be felt. The Madre wrote to her sister, doña Juana de Ahumada, 'The Discalced friar who hears confessions here does much good. He is Fray John of the Cross.'

Fray John lived in the Carmelite monastery which stood on

the inner side of the north wall of the city, almost exactly opposite the convent of the Incarnation, which lay in the valley below it. From it could be seen the graceful bell-tower of brick which rose above the walls. He was living with the Calced fathers, but he was not the only Discalced friar there. At that time eight Discalced were living in the Carmelite monastery, among them the prior, the sacristan, the procurator, and the porter. We only know the names of four of them: Baltasar de Jesús, who was prior; Francisco de los Apóstoles, the porter, who at that time would be living with Fray John of the Cross for the space of two years; Padre Fray Pedro de la Purificación and P. Gabriel Bautista, son of a physician to the emperor Charles V, whom we have already met at Pastrana. They were all there by order of the Apostolic Commissioner, Fray Pedro Fernández, who by this means was aiming at the reform of the monastery.[4] Fray John's position, then, was not, in these early days, so strained in relation to the Carmelite monastery, as his earlier biographers would give us to understand.

Nor does it appear that the nuns set up any resistance to the new director. The circumstances of Madre Teresa's arrival were never repeated. Not all the nuns, however, began to go to confession to him. Fray John was not the only confessor at the Incarnation — the Prioress had taken the prudent precaution of not closing the door against the Calced friars, who up till then had been confessors to the nuns. Both Calced and Discalced fathers, then, came down from the same Carmelite monastery indiscriminately.

The following incident must be assigned to this early period. Fray John was sitting on the hard wooden chair of his confessional,[5] waiting for the arrival of his penitents. A young nun came in, Fray John remained still and silent. The nun, one of those who preferred her former confessors, those with the long cloaks, asked — 'Are you Calced or Discalced?' Fray John, who sensed the intention and significance of the question, quickly covered his feet with the bottom of his habit and replied 'I am Calced, daughter'. The confession began.

This suspicious attitude, however, was not to last long. Fray John of the Cross, still young — he was not more than thirty — had an understanding and a maturity of judgement which, with his sanctity, was to win over all the nuns to God. With gentle firmness, without high tones, insistence or pressure, but equally

without weak and dangerous condescendence, he gradually led them where perhaps they had never set foot before. Little by little he cut down visits to the parlour, emphasized the dangers of dissipation and the excellences of virtue, convinced them of the contemplative spirit which the Carmelite vocation required. At the beginning there was a natural resistance, especially on the matter of the long and frequent visits to the parlour. The kindly remonstrances of the saintly confessor were not enough. When, however, a terrible storm of thunder and lightning came right above the convent, the nuns came out of the parlour terrified and rushed to the oratory to commend themselves to God. Fray John noted this and remarked upon it.

In the end they gradually yielded to his exhortations, and the house became transformed, the nuns gradually becoming souls of intense interior life, desirous of becoming each day more perfect.

The improvement first began to be noticed in the youngest. Day by day those who approached the Discalced father's confessional were more numerous. Without any intention of so doing, Fray John was gradually displacing the former confessors. Eventually he came to be the nuns' real guide, though another Discalced friar always accompanied him to help him in his spiritual ministry. The latter was appointed by the Apostolic Commissioner, as was Fray John. In spite of the fact that we know, as has been said, that there were eight Discalced friars in the Carmelite monastery in Ávila, we cannot be certain who was Fray John's companion at the beginning of his ministry to the nuns of the Incarnation.[6] It certainly was not P. Germán de San Matías, as has been somewhat thoughtlessly said.[7] We know that he had various companions on different occasions, at times from among the Calced fathers. Fray Gabriel Bautista and Fray Pedro de la Purificación both filled this office in the early days. The last to be his companion was Fray Germán de San Matías, as we shall see.

Although we do not know the date, Fray John and his companion one day moved from the Carmelite monastery to a tiny cottage close by the Incarnation, to the south-west of the garden.[8] Madre Teresa had prepared it for them. It is possible that she took this measure to avoid the annoyances which the Calced friars, because of the clash which had arisen between them and the Discalced, were beginning to cause Fray John of the Cross. Perhaps she took advantage of the moment when P. Fray Baltasar de

Jesús ceased to be prior of the Carmelite monastery and the Calced took over the government of the house. Again, her idea may have been that the confessors would thus be nearer to the Incarnation — or, indeed, she may have been influenced by all those reasons together.

The dwelling was poor and lacked furniture. It had a small yard. In Fray John's cell, there was nothing more than a table and a blanket, which served him as bed. The cottage, however, was not isolated. At the back of it, separated by an adjoining yard, there was another dwelling. Fray John's cell looked on to the little yard of the house. Here he could have all the mortification he desired. He wore a very poor habit of frieze and ate scarcely anything. He was content with whatever the nuns served him — and they were so poor — and if on occasion they served him up dainty dishes, he sent them back to the convent with instructions that they should be given to the sick.

One night Fray John was in his cell eating the frugal collation prepared by the nuns. He was alone. The door of the cell which led out to the little yard at the back of the house was still open. When he raised his eyes, he was astonished to see a young woman standing before him. Fray John recognized her. A victim of her passion, she had been following him for some time. Now, doubtless aware of the absence of his companion, she had climbed the walls of the little garden, and from there through the open door had got into the room. She was beautiful, of noble family and possessed other excellent qualities. The Discalced friar, a young man of thirty, felt the force of the temptation, but his reaction was instantaneous and he upbraided her sternly, though calmly. The young woman acknowledged her fault, went out of the room ashamed, climbed the walls of the little garden again and returned to her own house.

In one convent — perhaps that of the Incarnation? — there was an engaging and good-looking nun. A rich gentleman, much taken with her, visited her constantly and gave her presents, turning over to her large sums of money. The matter was public knowledge. Both the nuns and persons who came there from the city saw them together. On this account there was worry and trouble in the gentleman's house, just as there was in the convent. The nun began to go to confession to Fray John of the Cross and in a short time decided not to see the man again. The latter, who knew who had robbed him of his prey, was furious, decided

to take his revenge and set out to lay in wait for the nuns' confessor. He watched and when Fray John, one evening when it was already dark, came out from the church of the Incarnation to make his way to the cottage, the man sprang upon him and attacked him with a cudgel, leaving him injured on the ground. Fray John recognized his assailant but kept silence on the matter. When he referred to the incident later on, he said that as it was through having freed a soul 'the blows became as sweet to him as did the stones to St Stephen'.

The reputation of the young vicar and confessor of the Incarnation spread through the city. Not all, however, formed an accurate judgement of what the holiness of the Discalced father really meant. They thought him severe and intransigent. His grave bearing, his coarse habit, the obvious austerity of his life, frightened many people — among others, a young, rich and beautiful girl given over to vanities. Some people who were fond of her advised her to go to confession to Fray John of the Cross. She was afraid, however. She pictured the confessor of the Incarnation to herself as harsh and rigorous, precisely because she was convinced he was a saint. She shrank from going to him. Finally, insistently urged by her friends, she arrived one day at Fray John's confessional and, greatly troubled, put before him her fears and her sins. Fray John comforted her. A confessor who is holy ought not to frighten people. 'I', he said to the young woman who was trembling at his feet, 'am not so, but the holier the confessor the gentler he is and the less he is scandalized at other people's faults, because he understands man's weak condition better.' The young woman got up, went away strengthened and changed her life. She became one of his regular penitents. Years later, remembering the gentle direction of the austere Discalced father, she praised the holy gentleness with which Fray John persuaded her to virtue.

The fruit of Fray John's labours, however, was chiefly to be seen in the nuns. They could not help but be aware of the interest he took in them — interest both in their spiritual advancement and in their material well-being. The poverty in which they were living grieved him and, with a delicacy that came from charity, he was attentive to their needs. He sought for delicacies for those who were ill and was concerned about their health. He even begged alms in order to be able to give them what they needed. One day he came into the convent to exercise his

ministry and saw that a nun who was sweeping the cloister was bare-footed. She was not going without shoes for a penance, it was because she had none. Fray John left the convent, went up to the city and asked some charitable persons for money which he afterwards handed to the nun to buy a pair of shoes. If the nuns were sad, he cheered them by what he said and even wrote things for them. It was his custom to fill a sheet of paper with maxims and exhortations which he then left for their encouragement and comfort. One of them, Ana María de Jesús, regretted years later that she had not kept all those she received from the saintly Discalced father.

The nuns ended by following his indications without question. They did not know what there was about the words and tone of voice of Fray John, but no one could resist him. On a certain occasion one of them asked him in astonishment — 'What do you do to these nuns that straight away you make them do what you want?' 'God does it all,' he replied, 'and for that he directs me to love them well.' Certain facts which the nuns considered miraculous came to crown the veneration in which they held him. One nun, doña María de Yera, was seriously ill. The nuns applied all the remedies they could, but without effect. They moved her to another and more comfortable room, but on the way, lying on the mattress on which they were carrying her, she lost consciousness and apparently died. They sent for Fray John urgently and he came into the enclosure with his companion. As he came to the foot of the sick nun's bed, Ana María said to him, 'Father how has this come about? You've taken good care of your daughter, letting her die without confession or the sacraments!' Fray John did not answer. He went down to the choir, knelt down and remained in deep prayer. After a short time some of the nuns came to him in great agitation, saying that the dead woman had returned to life again. He went up to the sick nun's room and said to Ana María smiling, 'Daughter, are you satisfied?' Then he heard the confession of the nun whom they claimed had risen from the dead, gave her the sacraments, helped her to make ejaculations and to prepare for a good death. María de Yera remained like an angel. The nuns were convinced that they had witnessed a miracle on the part of their holy confessor.

On another occasion he helped Leonor de Cepeda to die. The nuns noticed nothing, but Fray John at the moment of her death saw the soul of the holy nun going straight up to heaven.

When on the following day the burial office was performed, angels, mingling with the nuns in their white cloaks, accompanied the body of the dead nun to the tomb.

Such was the veneration and admiration they felt for their confessor, that it seemed to them that when he brought them the most holy Sacrament they could see angelic splendours in his face.

To one of them he even gave his confidence as to revelations received from heaven, which otherwise he hid from all with impenetrable reserve. Such was the case with Ana María, a nun of great virtue, who realized her great privilege in having such a confessor. One day Fray John handed her a small piece of paper on which he had drawn in pen and ink a picture of Christ dead upon the cross, explaining as he handed it to her the reason for the sketch. It represented a vision he had recently had. He had seen Christ like that, dead upon the wood, his limbs dislocated, his head fallen deeply on the sunken breast, the hands torn where the nails had pierced them with the weight of the lifeless body, the legs, incapable of supporting it, bent double. . . . After the vision, which made a deep impression on him, he had taken his pen and reproduced Christ on the paper.[9] The sketch was not miraculously drawn, as the early biographers, who did not know that Fray John had practised painting as a small boy, thought. It showed, however, that those attempts of his boyhood had not been wholly unproductive. Ana María received and preserved the small but striking sketch, as a relic. One day she gave it to P. Juan de San José, a Calced Carmelite, her confessor, but later she asked him for it back again and the sketch has remained at the Convent of the Incarnation ever since.[10]

Meanwhile, what were the relations of Fray John of the Cross with Madre Teresa, prioress of the Incarnation? Primarily, that of two hands working in harmony to the same end. Not all the work of material and spiritual improvement in the community at the Incarnation should be attributed to Fray John. That would be historically unjust towards Madre Teresa. If there is an abundance of documents testifying to the valuable work carried out by the first Discalced father, those which provide evidence and details of that of the holy prioress are no less numerous. She, who had been the first to set the work on foot, supported, encouraged and made efficacious from within what Fray John did, under her direction, from without. Moreover, what had already been done

by the Madre when the Discalced confessor arrived was considerable.

In a more intimate order of things, that of the mutual spiritual relations of the two great promoters of the Reform, it may be said that here and at this time such relations reached their highest and most perfect point. Earlier, they had scarcely had contact with each other except for a few days — Medina, Valladolid, Duruelo. . . . Now, on the other hand, they were, with a few interruptions due to the Madre's journeys, in continual spiritual contact for about two years. Madre Teresa in her intelligence recognized the efficacy of Fray John's direction. Whereas at other times, she, with her appreciation of learned men, had sought out and had recourse to a number of directors simultaneously, during the time Fray John was in Ávila we find only him at her side. Referring to this period and to the time Fray John went away to Andalusia, she said, 'After he went there, in the whole of Castile I didn't find anyone like him.'

Nor did Fray John again meet any mind so rich in ascetico-mystical experience as that of Madre Teresa. It was precisely at this time when she was prioress at the Incarnation that the Father of the Discalced, having reached the summit of the mystical mount, was living to the full the life of union.[11] The Madre had arrived at the mystical marriage, which took place, it might be said, in the presence of Fray John of the Cross. On 18 November 1572, a short time, therefore, after Fray John's arrival at the Incarnation, he went to give Holy Communion to the Mother Prioress. He had heard her say how much it pleased her to receive Communion with large hosts. She thought that our Lord thus remained longer sacramentally within her. Fray John, an implacable destroyer of every possible desire for the things of sense, even though it should wear an appearance of devotion, only gave the Madre half a host. Teresa noticed this and suffered accordingly. But an interior voice consoled her: 'Do not be afraid, daughter, for no one has power to separate you from me.' The Lord then appeared to her in the inmost depths of her soul, gave her his right hand and said: 'Look at this nail, which is the sign that you will be my spouse from to-day. You were not deserving of it until now. Henceforward, not only because I am your Creator, your King and your God will you look to my honour, but because you are my true spouse. My honour is now yours and yours mine.'

Another incident occurring on the feast of the Most Holy Trinity is recorded. It was almost certainly in 1573, the only year in which Madre Teresa and Fray John of the Cross both happened to be in Ávila for that feast.[12] In one of the parlours of the Incarnation which can still be visited — a small, secluded room, with a floor of dark red brick, white-washed walls, and a ceiling of blackened wood — the two Reformers spoke of the great mystery. Madre Teresa was on the inside of the grille, Fray John of the Cross on the outside. The young friar felt an especial attraction for this mystery. When years later his devotion to the three divine Persons was already proverbial, and they asked him why the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity had so much attraction for him, he answered that it was because he held it 'as the most holy thing in heaven'. Fray John, a theologian of Salamanca, was speaking to the Madre about the divine mystery. It was not a dry dissertation, we may be sure. Suddenly he was silent and, as if moved by an irresistible impulse, stood up. At that moment a nun, Beatriz de Cepeda y Ocampo, came in unexpectedly and saw what was happening. Madre Teresa asked Fray John if that sudden movement had been a matter of prayer and he answered in all simplicity, 'I believe so.'[13]

At this time too, when the Madre was still prioress at the Incarnation, less than two years after Fray John's arrival at Ávila,[14] the latter worked a miracle the report of which spread through the whole city. The incident took place in the monastery of Nuestra Señora de Gracia, a small building, of humble aspect, erected on what had been a Moorish mosque, tucked away at the south-east of the city, outside although not far from the walls, near the strong massive towers of the Puerta del Alcázar.[15] It was a convent of Augustinian nuns. There Teresa when a child of twelve went to be educated.

At that time there was a nun there who was a prodigy. She was young, probably about twenty. She had come to the convent at the age of five, presumably to be educated. She explained the Holy Scriptures in a wonderful way, though she had had no master, followed no course of studies. Her companions were astonished. Many people came to listen to her, but the Superiors began to be uneasy. It was essential to examine a spirit of this kind. The most illustrious theologians Spain had in the University of Salamanca began to be seen in turn in the parlour of Nuestra Señora de la Gracia — Mancio de Corpus Christi, Bartolomé de

Medina, Juan de Guevara, Master Fray Luis de Léon. . . . We do not know the actual verdict they gave but it seems that all thought the nun's spirit was good and her wonderful knowledge infused. The Superiors, however, were not completely satisfied and finally asked those same illustrious men who had already examined the case of the nun prodigy to call in Fray John of the Cross, a former student of Salamanca University. The young Discalced father at first refused. The General of the Augustinian Order, who was then passing through Ávila, intervened, as did also Madre Teresa. They succeeded in persuading the confessor of the Incarnation to go up to Nuestra Señora de Gracia.

Before doing so he approached the Inquisition in Ávila. He put the case before the Inquisitors and asked leave to intervene in the matter. Only when the Inquisitors authorized him to do so, did he concern himself with the nun who was uttering so many extraordinary things.

Fray John did not go up to the Augustinian convent alone; he took a companion with him as was customary. Sometimes this was the lay-brother, Fray Francisco de los Apóstoles, who was acting as porter in the Carmelite monastery for some months; at other times, P. Fray Gabriel Bautista; or, again, P. Fray Pedro de la Purificación. They accompanied him, in turn, on the repeated visits he made to the College of Nuestra Señora de la Gracia. It was a fair distance away. They had to go from north to south, passing through the city in the centre. They climbed up the northerly slope, and probably skirted the walls from the archway of San Vicente, passing behind the apse of the cathedral, and at the foot of the Puerta del Alcázar with a steep but short descent they would be at the Augustinian convent.

Fray John went into the confessional. In the meantime the Father-General and the nuns were awaiting the result of the investigation. The Discalced father was with the nun one hour. As he came out he said without hesitation to those who were waiting, 'Gentlemen, this nun is possessed by the devil.' The Father-General asked him to undertake the exorcism of the religious. All the necessary permissions were given him for this. He could go into and come out of the convent freely and give or countermand orders there. Fray John consented and began the exorcisms. It was all going to be a long and tiresome process. Interesting details, given by eye-witnesses in the various reports, enable us to reconstruct the scene.

The exorcisms lasted several months. Fray John went up to the convent once or twice a week. He used to go early to say Mass. Sometimes he exorcized the possessed nun before celebrating, and in that case he put the stole over his white cloak. At other times he did so after Mass, wearing his alb and stole, when he had taken off his chasuble. The nuns could not bear to let him out of their sight. He was looked up to and loved as a saint and no sooner did he come into the sacristy than they ran to his side. Fray John did not like them to see him take off his cloak — he did not care to be seen either taking it off or without it — and he did so hiding himself as best he could and putting on the sacred vestments quickly, so that when the nuns arrived they would find him already vested. Perhaps through the frequency with which they saw him and talked to him, the nuns came to be on familiar terms with him. Some there were very handsome, but Fray John — as he declared to Beatriz de Cepeda, a nun at the Incarnation — was completely unmoved in their presence. He no longer seemed to be a man.

At the first exorcisms, Fray John made the possessed nun confess that she had handed herself over to the devil when she was six years old, the year, that is, she entered the convent. The contract was made solemnly. The child drew blood from one of her arms and with it wrote a script in which she testified that she was giving herself to the devil for ever. During the exorcisms the poor possessed nun suffered from terrible convulsions. She flung furious insults at Fray John, ejected quantities of foam from the mouth, cried out, threw herself in a frenzy on the ground, even tried to spring forward at the friar and those with him. The nuns fled in terror and even Fray John's companion was frightened and wanted to get away. On this occasion it must have been P. Pedro de la Purificación or P. Fray Gabriel Bautista, for the exorcizer told him not to fear, for he was a priest. Meanwhile, the nun cried out in despair against Fray John, 'You do this to me, to me, little friar? Have I not slaves?' The saint placed a cross upon her and continued his exorcizing. The possessed nun flung the cross upon the ground, but Fray John ordered her to take it and kiss it, and she obeyed bellowing as she did so. On another occasion he told her to translate from St John's Gospel the words. *Verbun caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*. 'The Son of God became man and lived with you', the nun translated rapidly. 'You are not speaking the truth,' replied Fray John; 'The words do not say "with you"

but "with us".' 'It is as I say,' persisted the nun, 'for he did not become man to live with us but to live with you.' There was no doubt about it. It was Lucifer who was speaking through the mouth of the unfortunate young nun.

This work of exorcism was accompanied by that, less spectacular but more necessary, of instructing and convincing the possessed nun. The long duration of the possession had filled her mind, beneath the cloak of astonishing learning about the Holy Scriptures, with grave disorders of a moral nature which Fray John of the Cross had to disentangle gradually. The state of diabolical possession in which the unhappy woman was, was such that she wept that there should be anyone who loved God.

The saintly vicar of the Incarnation was tireless. Week after week, by dint of fasting and prayer, with varying success he gradually succeeded in calming the poor creature. But the devil sought revenge. One day two Discalced friars came to the turn saying they were Fray John of the Cross and his companion. They wore the same habit, had their physical features and spoke in the same tone of voice. They came, as was usual, to talk with the possessed nun. The turn-sister informed the nun and the latter went to the confessional. When she came out she was in despair. The Mother Superior noticed it and asked her what had happened. 'Fray John has told me the contrary of what he has said on other occasions', replied the unhappy nun. The prioress took up a pen, wrote a note to the confessor of the Incarnation and sent it to him. When Fray John read it, he said to Fray Francisco de los Apóstoles, 'Let us go to the nuns', and they both went up to Nuestra Señora de la Gracia. The Augustinians breathed more freely again when they saw him. He unmasked the deception of the devil who had assumed his habit and countenance and exorcised the possessed nun once more. Finally, after months of exorcisms, he succeeded in snatching the script away from the devil and the nun was left free. She was completely exhausted, as if she had come out of a long torturing nightmare. The nuns of the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Gracia talked of the Fray John's holy and beneficent intervention in the community for many years.

Fray John returned to his quiet life in the cottage next to the convent of the Incarnation, but accounts of the amazing episode went round the whole city and it was commented on everywhere. Especially was it the subject of discussion at the convent of the

Incarnation. The Carmelite nuns must have been proud of the wonders wrought by their confessor. Even Madre Teresa who was there managed to find time to make known the wonderful cure which had been wrought and wrote to the prioress of Medina: 'Here they sent us the holy Fray John of the Cross, whom God has favoured, giving him the grace to cast out devils from persons who have them. He has just finished casting out three legions of devils from a person here in Ávila and he commanded each one by the power of God to tell him his name, and they obeyed at once.'

This was not, however, the only case. We hear of another, also very strange, related by an eye-witness, P. Pedro de la Purificación, who accompanied Fray John when he dealt with it. It was another possessed nun. We do not know to which Order and convent she belonged. We do know, however, that the event took place on the eve of the feast of the Most Holy Trinity. It was about noon when Fray John arrived with his companion. The exorcisms began at one o'clock, but the devil resisted and the hour of vespers came round before Fray John had succeeded in driving him out. The nuns told him that it was time to go to choir. The saint interrupted the exorcism and attended divine office with his companion and the nuns. The possessed nun was there too. The *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* of the vespers of the Holy Trinity was solemnly intoned, and when the choir were singing the *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*, the possessed nun, who was occupying her usual seat, gave a kind of half leap in the air and remained suspended upside down with the head downwards and the feet upwards. The nuns, dismayed and alarmed, stopped the chant. Fray John stepped forward to the middle of the choir and said in a loud voice: 'By the power of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, whose feast we are celebrating, I command you to return this nun to her place.' The nun turned over, acquired a normal position and returned to her own seat in the choir. When vespers were finished, the exorcisms were continued until the nun was freed.

The devil sought his revenge by all means possible. He tried to overthrow Fray John's virtue with the temptations and assaults he let loose against his purity. When he could do nothing else, he took vengeance by tormenting him physically. Fray Francisco de los Apóstoles, his companion at this time, found him one day in the little garden of the house he occupied next to the

Incarnation. Fray John was pale, with less colour than usual, and he asked the cause. 'The devils have treated me so badly', he answered, 'that I do not know how I have remained alive.' Fray Francisco was not surprised. He knew that some nights, when Fray John was already in bed, the devil would rip off the bedclothes leaving him in his under-tunic in the terrible cold of a winter's night in Avila; that he ill-treated and tormented him without mercy. All to no purpose — Fray John would continue to snatch away his best prey from his claws. Many a time still Lucifer was to howl with rage and helplessness in the presence of the 'little friar'.

Immediately after these events, Fray John journeyed to Medina del Campo. There was a Discalced nun there, Isabel de San Jerónimo, suffering from a strange illness. Nobody could understand what it was. In the end the nuns attributed the strange things that happened to her to an evil spirit and thought she was possessed. Accordingly Inés de Jesús, prioress of the convent, wrote about the matter to Madre Teresa, then prioress of the Incarnation. The Madre thought the opinion of the nuns of Medina was probably right and sent them Fray John of the Cross, at the same time writing to Madre Inés: 'Daughter, the illness from which Sister Isabel de San Jerónimo is suffering grieves me. I am therefore sending you holy Fray John of the Cross on whom God has bestowed the favour of granting him grace to cast out devils from persons who are possessed.' There Fray John went, then, to carry out his exorcism. But he was soon convinced that there was no diabolical possession. He heard the sister's confession, read the Gospels to her, and finally said to the nuns, 'This sister is not possessed by the devil, but is weak mentally.' She was simply a neurasthenic.

No document mentions specifically that during this journey to Medina Fray John saw his mother, Catalina Álvarez, who was still living in close contact with the convent of Discalced Carmelites. When dealing with history it is not permissible to make suppositions. Documents exist, however, which allow us to conclude with certainty that the two met on this occasion. Madre Francisca de Jesús, a nun of Medina, related that when she was talking to Catalina Álvarez, who had come to the convent to teach her to weave, she told her how her son John 'had been chosen, although very young, for his great virtue, as confessor and vicar of the nuns of the Incarnation of the city of Ávila,

where God showed him great favours and mercies, among which was the fact that when during the time he was confessor a nun of that convent came to die, the servant of God, Fray John of the Cross, saw her going up to heaven.' This clearly refers to what happened in the case of Leonor de Cepeda, already mentioned. When did Catalina Álvarez get to know this? The incident occurred a short time before this visit of Fray John to Medina — must it not have been he himself who told his mother about it for her consolation? It is, moreover, the only contemporary document we possess about the incident. It seems reasonable to suppose that nobody knew of it other than Catalina Álvarez, who heard it from the lips of her son.[16]

Fray John of the Cross made one other journey before his term of office as confessor to the Incarnation came to an end. It was in the middle of March 1574. He went with Madre Teresa to the foundation of the Discalced Carmelite nuns at Segovia. They were accompanied by Julián de Ávila and a gentleman from Alba de Tormes, named Gaytán, as well as by the nuns who were going to form the new community. It was the first time that Fray John set foot in this city, which was later to be so closely connected with his name.

Like almost all Madre Teresa's foundations, this one was to have a porch for the church. In it was placed an altar and on the altar a cross. This was its sole ornament. The founders arrived on 18 March, and the following day, the feast of St Joseph, very early in the morning the house was officially opened and the Blessed Sacrament placed in the porch which had been made as decent as possible. Julián de Ávila celebrated the first Mass. Fray John of the Cross said the second.

The Vicar-General of the diocese, who was acting in place of the absent bishop, knew nothing of all this. Some time before, the Madre had had verbal permission from the prelate, but, anxious to avoid difficulties, she was afraid to make it known to the Vicar-General, who would certainly demand her written authorization. It would be a bad case indeed, thought the Madre Fundadora, if, once the Blessed Sacrament was placed there, he should dare to suppress the foundation. It was with this idea in mind that the opening ceremony was arranged so early in the morning. It might thus pass unnoticed.

A short time after the convent had been opened, a canon, don Juan Orozco y Covarrubias, passed by the door. He saw a cross

over it and asked what it meant. They told him that a convent of Discalced nuns had just been opened there. He went into the chapel, venerated the cross which had been placed on the altar, prayed for a few minutes, and sent a servant to ask if he could say Mass there. He was told they would consider it a favour and the canon celebrated the holy Sacrifice. He had not yet retired from the altar when the Vicar-General arrived in a state of agitation and said angrily to the celebrant, 'A fine state of affairs here!' Don Juan Orozco kept calm. The Vicar-General walked to and fro in his fury inquiring who had put the Blessed Sacrament there. The nuns were already inside their provisional enclosure. Julián de Ávila hid, frightened, under a staircase and the Vicar-General ran into Fray John of the Cross. 'Who has put this here?' he asked him, beside himself. Fray John replied meekly but the Vicar-General angrily cut him short. 'Take it all away at once. I have a very good mind to send you to prison.' Before the astonished eyes of the Madre and the nuns, who could see what was going on from their enclosure, the Vicar-General began to take down what they had so tastefully and lovingly prepared the night before. In a short time a constable was guarding the door to prevent anyone who wanted to say Mass entering, and a priest, also sent by the Vicar-General, arrived to consume the Blessed Sacrament. Meanwhile, Fray John, humble and recollected, stood there calm and serene, his face grave like that of a holy hermit, as María de la Encarnación, who was present and much edified, described it.

For better or worse the clash with the Vicar-General was settled by the production of witnesses and written documents while Madre Teresa put the convent in order and Julián de Ávila, with Gaytán, left for Pastrana to bring the nuns from that foundation which the Madre, tired of the caprices of the Princess of Éboli, was closing. Fray John of the Cross returned alone to Ávila. This was in the last few days of March 1574.

8

STRIFE AMONGST BRETHREN

WHILE Fray John of the Cross, devoting himself with all the intensity and love of his being to his spiritual ministry, was gathering abundant fruit at the Incarnation, certain events were taking place which were to have a marked influence on his life. He, ignorant of the tangled web which had been woven, was none the less to be its first and principal victim.

The Calced fathers, who had looked so favourably upon the reform of the Carmelite Order set on foot by Madre Teresa and had helped her so much, were beginning to be displeased. There was some ground for this. The Discalced friars, favoured by the Apostolic Commissioners who were Dominicans, had ignored in certain instances the dispositions of the Carmelite Father-General, a matter of regret to Madre Teresa. It was the General who first authorized the foundation of two convents of Discalced friars — Duruelo, afterwards transferred to Mancera, and Pastrana. Later, at the instance of the Prince of Êboli, Ruy Gómez, he authorized a third foundation, that of the College of Alcalá. In the following year, 1571, he graciously granted a new request from Ruy Gómez for the foundation of a house in Altomira (Cuenca). In 1572, also with the General's permission, was founded that of La Roda, in which the holy woman hermit, doña Catalina de Cardona, was instrumental. The following year he authorized Diego de León to negotiate the foundation of another house in Andalusia, a project which, however, did not come to anything, and finally, in 1574, a further monastery was opened in Almodóvar del Campo, with his approval.

But while the General himself, P. Juan Bautista Rubeo was going round the provinces of Spain making his visitation, a visitation which he began in 1566, King Philip II obtained a Brief from Rome (1567) for the appointment of Apostolic Visitors

or Commissioners, who, independently of the General of the Order and with almost unlimited powers, were to visit both Calced and Discalced. The General, who was not informed of the Brief until 1568, quickly asked for its repeal. However, the following year, and with the intervention of Philip II, two Dominican fathers were appointed Apostolic Commissioners — Fray Pedro Fernández for the province of Castile and Fray Francisco de Vargas for that of Andalusia. The former was prior of the Atocha monastery in Madrid, the latter of that of San Pablo in Córdoba.

Whereas Fray Pedro Fernández, a man of extraordinary capacity and prudence, worked, in the exercise of his new office, in harmony with the Calced Provincial, whose opinion he asked on all questions which might affect the fathers of the Observance, Padre Vargas ended by ignoring the latter and exercised his functions with absolute independence of the Carmelite General. The recalcitrant, rebellious and obstinate attitude of the Andalusian friars in respect of all the Visitor's attempts at reform certainly contributed to this. Padre Fernández brought about reform in Castile by gentle measures — distributing some Discalced friars among the houses of the Observance, appointing them superiors, and giving them offices from which they could more effectively promote the projected reform of the respective houses. Thus in 1571 he appointed P. Antonio de Jesús, much loved by the Calced, prior of Toledo and P. Baltasar de Jesús prior of Ávila. In that monastery there were in 1572 no fewer than eight Discalced friars, as we have already seen. In addition to the prior's office, the Visitor appointed Discalced fathers as sacristan, procurator and porter.

Padre Vargas went much farther. He was determined to have a reformed monastery in his province and handed over to the Discalced the house the fathers of the Observance possessed in San Juan del Puerto (Huelva). Moreover, he authorized the foundations of Seville, Granada and Peñuela, appointing first P. Baltasar and then Jerónimo Gracián Visitors of both Calced and Discalced friars in the province of Andalusia. This was clearly in opposition to the wishes and express determinations of the Carmelite General.

It was these latter events, in particular, that decided the Calced fathers to take steps to cut short the expansion and even obtain the suppression of the Discalced, whose rapid development they

thought threatened the Order's existence. For these purposes a meeting of the Spanish Provincials was called, and in 1574 Fray Ángel de Salazar, Provincial of Castile, Fray Jerónimo Jordán, Provincial of Aragón, Fray Antonio Vidal, Provincial of Cataluña, Fray Agustín Suarez, Provincial of Andalusia and Fray Gabriel de Santiago, Provincial of Portugal, met. They resolved to inform the Master-General of their views, suggesting to him that he should request from the Pope, Gregory XIII, that the appointment of Apostolic Commissioners should be given to members of the Order. To take the resolutions of the meeting to Rome and inform the General of the details, they commissioned Padre Jerónimo Tostado, a Portuguese by birth, doctor of the University of Paris, a man skilled in business affairs and a friend of Padre Rubeo. Fray Jerónimo Tostado left for Rome and in that same year 1574 obtained from the Pope a Brief cancelling the appointment of the Dominicans Fray Pedro Fernández and Fray Francisco de Vargas as Apostolic Visitors. The pontifical document, *Pro liberandis provinciis Hispaniae a visitatione extraneorum* was issued under the date of 3 August 1574. The General, however, did not publish it in the Order until May of the following year.

Meanwhile, the nuncio in Spain, Ormaneto, who had been informed by the Roman Curia of the issue of the Brief, with the consequent suppression of the office of Commissioners or Visitors which Pedro Fernández and Francisco de Vargas were exercising, used his own powers as Pontifical Legate and on 27 September of that same year 1574 appointed the two latter *reformadores* — reformers, with identical or greater authority than they had had with the title of Commissioners. Moreover, he included among them P. Jerónimo Gracián for the province of Andalusia. The Pope confirmed the appointment on 27 December.

The indignation of the Calced friars, particularly in the province of Andalusia, was understandable. Passions were aroused and reports and protests, not always just and dispassionate, began to be sent to Rome. At the same time defamatory memoranda attacking Gracián and the Discalced fathers reached even Philip II. The General of the Order, Juan Bautista Rubeo, wrote two letters to Madre Teresa, one in October of that year and the other in January 1575, asking her for an explanation of the attitude and behaviour of the Discalced friars. Unfortunately the

letters did not reach the Madre's hands until June. In the meantime — May 1575 — the General Chapter was held in Piacenza in Italy and in view of the reports of the Calced friars from Andalusia and the silence of the Discalced — to crown everything the Provincial of Castile, Fray Ángel de Salazar, and the Provincial of Andalusia, who, the former particularly, would have been able to give their brethren more dispassionate information, were absent — the Chapter, interpreting the silence of Madre Teresa and the Discalced as an attitude of rebellion, acted by placing themselves definitely on the side of the accusers.

The Chapter opened with the reading of Gregory XIII's brief about the cancellation of the appointment of Apostolic Visitors, and the following resolutions were taken: to send a Visitor of the Order for Calced and Discalced alike; to suppress the houses which the latter had founded without leave of the General, that is, all those in Andalusia;[1] to prohibit the founding of new houses either of friars or nuns; Madre Teresa to remain in one convent chosen by her, and no Discalced nun to be allowed to move from one convent to another.[2] In order to ensure the carrying out of these provisions, the Chapter ordered that recourse should be had if necessary to the help of the secular arm and the assistance of the authority of the archbishops, the nuncio and the legates asked for.

This was the signal, perhaps without anyone's being to blame, for a declaration of war among brethren. When Madre Teresa received the General's letters, it was already too late to remedy things. If the letters had arrived in time, the attitude of Padre Rubeo and of the Chapter when they received the Madre's explanations would surely have been very different. St Teresa, however, was not able to reply before 18 June, when the Chapter was closed and authorizations for the suppression of the rebellious Discalced houses had already been received in the Spanish provinces.

Half-way through the year 1576 Padre Jerónimo Tostado reached Spain, with the appointment and office assigned to him by the Chapter, that is, as Visitor of the Order in the Peninsula. He arrived determined to have the decisions of the Piacenza Chapter carried out. He hastened to present his letters patent to the king and the nuncio. The Royal Council, however, held on to the papers, which it did not find to be in agreement with the pontifical dispositions given in support of the nuncio. Tostado left Madrid and moved to Portugal to undertake visitations there,

in the hope of a better understanding. At this time Madre Teresa wrote to the Prioress of Seville, 'God has delivered us from Tostado.'

The Discalced who, from a Chapter held at San Pablo de Moraleja (Ávila) in which the decisions of the General Chapter were made known and certain measures taken for their execution, realized what was being set on foot against them, took their precautions. Padre Jerónimo Gracián, already in open strife with the General of the Order, but bound by the formal instructions of the nuncio who imposed the office of Visitor upon him under pain of excommunication, convened on 3 August a meeting of Discalced friars in Almodóvar. The meeting was held on 9 September 1576.[3] The nine Superiors of the houses of the Reform — Mancera, Pastrana, Alcalá, Altomira, Granada, La Peñuela, La Roda, Sevilla, and Almodóvar — have been mentioned. We know the names of all except that of the Superior of La Roda — Juan de Jesús Roca, Diego de la Trinidad, Elías de San Martín, Francisco de Jesús (Capela), Pedro de los Ángeles, Antonio de Jesús and Gabriel de la Asunción.[4] As a delicate recognition of his position as the first Discalced friar, Fray John of the Cross, vicar and confessor of the Incarnation at Ávila, was also invited.[5]

The young Discalced father left the old Castilian city of Ávila and travelled to Almodóvar in La Mancha. We have no knowledge as to the details of his journey, only that the route in those days lay through Toledo, Orgaz, Yébenes, Malagón, Peralvillo, Ciudad Real, Caraquel, Almodóvar.

Fray Jerónimo Gracián presided over the Chapter in his quality as Provincial Superior of the Discalced through the nuncio's appointment. When P. Antonio de Jesús had been nominated to act in Gracián's stead in the case of the latter's absence, the Chapter dealt primarily with the Constitutions by which the reformed houses were to be governed. They were drawn up by Gracián at the beginning of 1576, shortly after the nuncio appointed him Provincial of the Discalced and Visitor of the Calced in Andalusia. In them he had incorporated the instructions drawn up by Fray Antonio de Jesús and Fray John of the Cross in Duruelo, those given by the Generals Soreth and Audet for the reform of the Order and what had come to be actual practice in the Discalced monasteries of Castile and Andalusia.[6]

The members of the Chapter in Almodóvar examined and discussed certain points, particularly that referring to the relations

between the active life and the contemplative. The Constitutions gave no latitude in the matter of recollection and enclosure.

> Item, we ordain, with regard to enclosure and the recollection of the religious, which the Rule orders, that no one may leave the house, except the procurator and the preacher when he goes out to preach, or in some very serious and exceptional case, and in no other circumstance, even though it be for a funeral, or on visits to relatives or sick persons, not even on the excuse of going to hear their confessions. For the sake of greater recollection, there shall be no one among us going along the streets with a little bowl asking for alms, nor with panniers for the sweepings of corn nor in any other manner which may be an occasion of distraction or roaming about.[7]

The discussion, then, must have been either on the desirability of being a little less rigid with a view to the life of the apostolate, or about eliminating certain abuses which ran counter to the spirit of recollection prescribed in the Constitutions.

Two tendencies were shown by those present at the Chapter — tendencies which for long continued to disturb the uniformity of judgement among the Discalced. Some — the names of P. Antonio de Jesús and of the president of the Chapter himself, P. Jerónimo Gracián, were mentioned — were disposed to give greater scope to the active life, for the benefit of one's neighbour. Others — Fray Gabriel de la Asunción, Fray Brocardo el Viejo, Fray Francisco de la Concepción and Fray Nicolás de Jesús María — were in favour of the pre-eminence of the contemplative life. This was also the view of Fray John of the Cross. All the historians, both the first biographers of the saint and the chronicler of the Reform, assert that Fray John urged the necessity of doing away with certain abuses which had already crept in to the detriment of the pre-eminently contemplative life proper to the Discalced — abuses which had been introduced under pretext of the apostolate — and of giving to recollection all the importance it had in the Constitutions.

Although the opinion of Fray John of the Cross did not prevail entirely, he obtained two things — that the present abuses in regard to the friars' going out should be suppressed and that the large number of external religious practices, such as prayers and chants, which certain priors had introduced into the communities, should be reduced.[8]

After this problem, which might be called that of internal de-

fence, the Chapter turned its attention — it could hardly do less — to that of external defence. The decisions of the General Chapter of the Calced friars in Piacenza were already known. Madre Teresa had pointed out to P. Gracián four days earlier — on 5 September — how advisable it would be for there to be someone in Rome to correct in the presence of the Pope himself the wrong information that was given there against the Discalced, and the Chapter decided to send Padres Juan de Jesús Roca, prior of Mancera, and Pedro de los Ángeles, Superior of La Peñuela, to negotiate in Rome for the necessary independence of the Discalced. This appeared to be the only means of saving the Reform, in view of the attitude by which all, from the General down to the last friar of the Cloth, had set themselves against it.[9]

Among other things agreed upon, all with a view to removing any possible cause of dissatisfaction from the Calced, it was resolved that Fray John of the Cross should give up his office as vicar and confessor of the Incarnation at Ávila, a post and office which the fathers of the Calced monastery of that city so much coveted. Perhaps Fray John himself proposed this, in view of the violent attitude which the Calced friars had adopted. Unpleasant and hostile incidents had already occurred.

In the very beginning of this same year, 1576, there was already a scandal.[10] Padre Valdemoro, prior of the Calced friars in Ávila, removed Fray John and his companion, Fray Francisco de los Apóstoles, by force from their cottage by the Incarnation and took them to Medina del Campo as prisoners.[11] The thing was done publicly, the Discalced confessors were insulted with consequent scandal to the public. The city protested at the outrage and sent a long memorandum to the nuncio, complaining of the Calced friars. Ormaneto intervened and ordered, under penalty of excommunication, that Fray John should be restored to his post at Ávila and that no Calced friar should again intervene in the affairs of the Incarnation; he was not even to say Mass there. We do not know exactly how long this first imprisonment of Fray John of the Cross and his companion lasted; it must have been short, for in February Madre Teresa was already writing to the General of the Order, 'The Discalced fathers have now returned.'

It is clear, however, that since Fray John returned to the Incarnation by order of the nuncio and after the step taken by the Calced friars, the situation could not be otherwise than strained

The austere young confessor suffered from it. The continual vexations which he received were gradually wearing him down. When some months later the Madre, who was at St Joseph's in Ávila and saw Fray John frequently, wrote to Philip II, she could say with truth, 'This friar, such a great servant of God, is so frail and thin from all he has suffered that I fear for his life.'

Things being as they were, the decision of the Almodóvar Chapter can be understood. If that office were left to the Calced fathers, another excuse for discord would be removed.[12] The decision of the Chapter, however, was not carried into effect. Fray John returned to Ávila and continued his office as vicar and confessor. What causes intervened to prevent the withdrawal of Fray John which had been resolved at the Almodóvar Chapter? It would seem that they were the same as those which brought him back there when Madre Teresa ceased to be in office as prioress of the Incarnation and Fray John himself wanted to resign — a petition from the nuns to the nuncio, asking that the Discalced confessor should not be removed, and an order from the nuncio once more confirming Fray John in his office.

At this time, while the storm continued to rage around Fray John and the Discalced friars, a kind of mystical contest was held in Ávila. Madre Teresa, who was at this time — the last days of 1576 and the first of 1577 — in Toledo, had asked her brother don Lorenzo de Cepeda for an explanation of some words which she heard, as it were, spoken by God one day in her recollection: *Seek thyself in me.* In the spiritual conversations which don Lorenzo, Francisco de Salcedo, Julián de Ávila and the bishop, don Álvaro de Mendoza, frequently enjoyed in the parlour of the convent of St Joseph, conversations at which Fray John of the Cross was perhaps present, Madre Teresa's brother had suggested an explanation of the words. The bishop decided that each one should give his view in writing. Fray John was also invited to participate. When the replies were collected, the bishop sent them to Toledo, so that the Madre could judge them and send her verdict in writing. The contest was begun in the last days of 1576 and in January 1577 Madre Teresa had already written her critical reply. In it, with extraordinary wit and opportuneness, she went through the writings of all the competitors and succeeded in making fun of them; in the judgement of St Teresa no one had given the right explanation, 'saying too much.' In a humorous way she was particularly relentless with Fray John of the Cross,

who must have presented a whole treatise on mysticism, judging by Madre Teresa's words.[13]

Meanwhile, Fray John's situation was worse than ever. The fathers of the Calced Carmelite monastery, informed of the Almodóvar meeting, increased the intensity of their attacks against the Discalced friars. They decided to put into execution the resolutions of the Chapter of Piacenza and the concrete orders of Tostado. The Almodóvar meeting they must have looked upon as a challenge. One event occurred to favour them — the death of the nuncio Ormaneto, which took place on 18 June 1577. He was one of the benefactors of the Reform. Over and over again he stopped the attacks of the fathers of the Observance against Madre Teresa's work. With his death the Calced believed, and rightly so, that they had their hands free. Gracián's commission was looked upon as ended and that of Tostado renewed and, secure in the protection of the new nuncio, Monsignor Sega, who was favourable to them, they thought the moment had come to get rid of the Reform.

Fray John foresaw the catastrophe. Not only did he foresee it — it appears he even had a special revelation about it. At any rate, he announced it to Ana María, a nun of the Incarnation, some days before it happened. Attempts had already been made, and, warned by the people, many gentlemen of the city had mounted guard some nights around the Discalced fathers' house. The Superiors of the Reform, after what had occurred and in view of the attitude of the Calced friars, also foresaw disaster, and to ward off the blow so far as Fray John was concerned, decided to remove him from Ávila, electing him prior of Mancera. The step was taken, however, a little too late.

It was the night of 2 December 1577.[14] Fray John of the Cross and his companion, who was then Padre Germán de San Matías, had already retired into their cottage next to the Incarnation. A group consisting of Calced fathers, seculars, and men-at-arms arrived. They broke open the door. Rushing at Fray John and his companion, they seized them by their hoods and, handcuffing them, took them away to the Calced monastery. Violence must have been used in the capture, for the noise even reached the nuns in the convent. The door was doubtless broken open with blows. Fray John, however, put up no resistance. They told him he was taken prisoner by order of the Vicar-General, Padre Tostado, and he meekly replied: 'Well and good. Let us go.' The

strangely-assorted group of fathers of the Cloth, secular persons and men-at-arms, went with the Discalced friars in the darkness of the December night up the steep slope to the north of the walls, entered the city through the Puerta del Carmen and went into the monastery of the Observance.

Here was Padre Maldonado, prior of the Carmelite friars of Toledo. He had come, commissioned by the Vicar-General, Fray Jerónimo Tostado, who was in Toledo, to absolve the nuns of the Incarnation from the excommunications which Tostado himself had hurled against them for having voted for Madre Teresa as prioress. Clearly, however, Padre Maldonado also brought orders for the removal of the two Discalced confessors from the Incarnation. When the two friars arrived at the monastery, they were lashed twice. We do not know the exact time that the two prisoners remained there. The documents hint at a few days and that there were attempts to persuade Fray John to abandon the Reform. It is even asserted that they took the Discalced habit off him by force and clothed him in the Calced robe.

One incident took place at the time when they had not yet left Ávila. Fray John, taking advantage of the carelessness of his guards when they left him free to hear Mass, went out of the Carmelite monastery down to his cell at the Incarnation, shut himself in it as best he could and began to tear up papers, eating some and destroying others. The Calced, when they became aware of his flight, went in pursuit and thundered violently on the door, while Fray John answered from inside — 'I'm coming now. Straight away, straight away.' The autograph manuscript report of Isabel de San Francisco, who was one of the saint's penitents, assumes that when his work of destruction was finished, Fray John himself opened the door to them. Should we not refer to this moment Madre Teresa's words to Philip II, 'They took them while they were holding the papers'? These were, the manuscript report reads, 'some papers of great importance in which our holy Mother, Padres Fray Jerónimo Gracián and Mariano, and the saint himself, dealt with business of the Reform and the restoration of the Discalced.'

Perhaps this incident made the Calced friars hasten to remove the prisoners and get them away from Ávila. The fact is that Padre Valdemoro, prior of the Calced monastery, took Padre Germán to that of San Pablo de la Moraleja, a hamlet in the province of Ávila, between Arévalo and Medina del Campo.[15] When Padre

Valdemoro, after having left Padre Germán in prison, returned to Ávila, he told the nuns at the Incarnation that he had left 'that traitor' well guarded.

Padre Maldonado, prior of Toledo, took charge of Fray John. He had clear orders from the Visitor-General to bring him to his presence. We already know that the Visitor was in the imperial city and that Padre Maldonado had come to Ávila to absolve the nuns of the Incarnation. At the same time he was to take away Fray John. He did not, however, do so directly. To throw off the scent of those who intended to follow in the track of the prisoner, he took him there by most roundabout ways. It was even stated in one manuscript that he took him round by Medina del Campo. Fray John made the journey on a good mule. We do not know the exact route they followed, but we know that it was always along solitary paths, without entering any town, also that the weather was bad — it was the middle of December on the heights of Ávila — and they crossed the Sierra Guadarrama on a day of snow and sleet.

On the road the prisoner was abused, it would seem only in words.[16] The mule-driver who accompanied the friars was indignant. The meekness of the young emaciated Discalced friar — Fray John was thirty-four and 'so thin from all he had suffered', as Madre Teresa said — gradually won over the youth and in an inn where they passed the night he decided to speak to the innkeeper in favour of the captive. Between them, mule-driver and innkeeper planned Fray John's flight and they proposed it to him secretly. They would help him to cross the sierra without his guards noticing. Fray John, however, while he thanked them for it, did not accept their kind offer, and continued his journey over rough ground and unknown paths without knowing where he was going, his frail body, worn away by sufferings and penance, still smarting from the lashes received on two occasions at the Carmelite monastery in Ávila.

Meanwhile, news of the imprisonment of the Discalced friars had reached Madre Teresa, who was in her first convent of St Joseph in Ávila. It reached her a few hours after the event, although without more details than that of the violence with which the Calced friars broke into the house, knocked down the door and carried away papers and prisoners. The Madre was alarmed. Anything was to be feared from the terribly violent attitude of the fathers of the Cloth. When, a year earlier, Padre Gracián, then

Apostolic Visitor, was making his round of visits to the houses of the Calced friars in Andalusia, the nuns advised him not to eat with them to avoid the possibility of being poisoned. He even came to fear they might kill him. What, then, was to be feared now in the case of Fray John, who had fallen into their hands? After that terrible abduction he was at the mercy of their good pleasure. She quickly took up her pen and on 4 December indignantly wrote to Philip II:

> They are holding them prisoners in their monastery. They broke into the cells and took them and the papers they had. The whole place is highly scandalized that they should dare so much, when the place is so near where Your Majesty is, it does not appear they respect either justice or God. As to me it grieves me greatly to see them in their hands. They [i.e. the Calced] have been longing for this for days. I should think them better off if they were among Moors, for perhaps they would have more pity. And this friar [Fray John], such a great servant of God, is so frail and thin with all he has suffered, that I fear for his life. For the love of our Lord, I beseech Your Majesty to order that they be rescued in the shortest possible time. . . . If Your Majesty does not order a remedy to be applied, I do not know where the matter will end, for we have no other help on earth. . . . Dated at St Joseph of Ávila, 4 December 1577. Your Majesty's unworthy servant and subject, TERESA DE JESÚS, Carmelite.

Five days later the Madre already had further news. She knew that the day they were taken they were twice flogged, that the Calced were meting out to them all the ill-treatment they could, that whereas the prior of Ávila had taken Padre Germán to San Pablo de la Moraleja, Padre Maldonado, prior of Toledo, had taken Fray John to bring him before Tostado. She did not, however, know where. The Madre repeated what she had written to Philip II, 'I would rather see them with the Moors.'

As it was to Madre Teresa, it was a great blow to the nuns of the Incarnation. They had been directed by Fray John for five years, and were eye-witnesses of his charity, of his gifts, of his apostolic spirit, even of his miracles.

> The nuns [wrote Saint Teresa, speaking of those of the Incarnation], have felt it and do feel it more than all their troubles, although the latter are by no means few. . . . The nuns say that they [i.e. the two friars] are saints and that in the few years they have been here, they have never seen anything [in their conduct] that was not apostolic. . . . At least the one who is called Fray John of the Cross everyone holds as

a saint, and the nuns too, and I don't think they are mistaken. In my opinion he is a great person. And being placed where they were by the Dominican Apostolic Visitor and the late nuncio, and being subject to Gracián as Visitor, this piece of folly has left people dismayed. A hard thing has this been.

Those at the Incarnation felt the blow, above all Ana María, who knew what she was losing as nobody else did and spent many years grieving for the loss of her holy confessor.

They did not, however, stop at feelings. If the Madre wrote to the king, the nuns of the Incarnation in their trouble had recourse to the nuncio, complaining of the injustice which had been done them in taking away Fray John with so much ignominy, when he was exercising his office by mandate of the nuncio Ormaneto and of the Apostolic Visitor, Fray Pedro Fernández. On 16 January the protest formulated was already in the hands of the Royal Council.

The whereabouts of Fray John, however, continued to be a mystery. A month later Madre Teresa was still writing: 'My grief is that they took them away and we know not where; but it is to be feared that they have them in close confinement and I dread some catastrophe.' Even the noble lady doña Guiomar de Ulloa, Madre Teresa's great friend, was weeping in Ávila for the absence of Fray John of the Cross.

9

PRISON WALLS

TOLEDO. The church walls, high and massive, of an imposing monastic building towered up above the rocks on the right bank of the Tagus. The front of the building looked towards the west and faced the Plaza de Zocodover[1] nearby. Almost equidistant from the Alcántara bridge and the fortress of the Alcázar, the back looked on to the castle of San Servando, whose great stone keep watched over and protected the city from the other bank of the river. This was Toledo's Carmelite monastery in the year 1576. It was the Order's finest house in Castile and nearly eighty friars lived within its walls.[2]

It was here that Fray John of the Cross was imprisoned about the middle of December. They brought him by night, his eyes bandaged so that he could not recognize either the place or the way to it. He probably came in through the new Bisagra Gate — the only way into Toledo if one comes from Ávila — passing beneath the two-headed eagle carved in granite on the escutcheon of Charles V. Before they came to the monastery, his keepers took him along steep, narrow streets, bringing him round corners and doubling back on their tracks in and out all the dark blind-alleys of Toledo. It would thus be well-nigh impossible for him to find a way of escape.

He was brought before the Visitor-General, Fray Jerónimo Tostado, who had given orders to Fray Maldonado, the prior of Toledo, that the friar should be seized and brought before him. The news that John of the Cross had arrived spread quickly through the monastery and many of the friars thronged to see him — for the purpose of heaping abuse upon him. The young Discalced father stood there steadfast and silent. He must have looked pitiful — small, wasted-looking even before he was seized. Now, after the lashes he had received at Ávila, the hardships he had undergone and the long and painful journey, he

must have looked lost in the amply-cut habit of the Calced friars in which they vested him by force.

In addition to the Visitor, the tribunal consisted of Fray Maldonado, prior of the monastery, and other important members of the community. The terms of the Acts of the General Chapter of Piacenza were read aloud to Fray John. Word for word they ran:

> By the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff Gregory XIII, it is commanded that all religious elected contrary to the general statutes and in disobedience to the Prior and Master General, or who have accepted monasteries or places, wherever situated, against the will of the said Prior General, and who have erected them, dwelt in them or are dwelling in them, shall be declared deprived of them and removed from all offices and all administration, without any appeal. The reverend Masters Provincial, and any other minister or rector of the provinces or monasteries, shall remove and expel those thus unlawfully elected, applying to them the penalty of suspension *a divinis*, of deprivation of their office and vote, and the penalty of other censures which they may judge suitable; no obedience is to be given to them. And because there are some, disobedient, rebellious and contumacious, commonly called Discalced friars, who against the letters patent and statutes of the Prior General have lived and do live outside the province of Old Castile, in Granada, Seville, and near the small place known as La Peñuela, and who, excusing themselves with fallacies, cavilling and misrepresentations, have been unwilling humbly to accept the mandates and letters of the Prior General, it shall be intimated to the said Discalced Carmelites, under apostolic penalties and censures, including, if necessary, the aid of the secular arm, that they shall submit within the space of three days, and if they resist they shall be severely punished. And let them know that they are summoned by us to appear in person, and that should they refuse to do so, the fact may be attested before witnesses. To this end there shall also be sought the help of the reverend archbishops, of the nuncios of our most Holy Lord the Pope, and of his legates *a latere*, as the Sovereign Pontiff himself decrees in letters given in Rome at St Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, the 15th day of April, 1575, being the third year of his pontificate.

It was not, then, an arbitrary act on the part of the Vicar-General. It was a formal and solemn measure on the part of the Chapter. The Vicar-General was merely carrying out an order sanctioned with the direst penalties. The Discalced would have to renounce their resolve if they did not want to find themselves incurring the stigma of rebellion cast by the General and by those met in chapter at Piacenza.

But Fray John of the Cross knew where he stood and remained obdurate. In the first place the penalties unleashed against the Discalced friars of Granada, Seville and La Peñuela (houses founded without the General's permission), the only ones which the Chapter classed as rebels if they did not abandon those monasteries and return to the (Calced) Observance, did not apply to him. Perhaps they would argue against him that he had incurred the same penalty for living outside a monastery, in the cottage at the Convent of the Incarnation. But was he not there through obedience to an authority higher than that of the General of the Order and of his Chapter? Appointed Vicar and Confessor to the nuns, as he was, by Ormaneto the nuncio, and by the Apostolic Visitor Fray Pedro Fernández, and by the authority of Gracián, — who all three had power to dispose of the religious subject to their jurisdiction independently of the superiors of the Order — it was obvious that neither the decisions and mandates of the Father Vicar-General nor even those of the Chapter could touch him. Nor could they say that since the Nuncio Ormaneto was dead, all such authority had ceased. Although the Visitors had been appointed by him — apart from the fact that it was not on his personal authority but in virtue of his office as legate *a latere*, and therefore only by an express annulment by the new nuncio would his rulings lose their validity — such appointments had been confirmed by the Sovereign Pontiff.[3] This was how the theologians whom St Teresa consulted interpreted the matter. Most important of all, this was how it was interpreted by the Royal Council, who held back the letters patent of Tostado and stole a march on him by preventing him from making a visitation which was to be based on the authority of the Chapter of the Order and of the General, against that of the Apostolic Visitors.[4]

Fray John was in a position to maintain his attitude firmly and he did so. It is not known what arguments he used to defend himself against P. Tostado, but we do know that the latter tried to make Fray John change his mind. First of all he used threats. Fray John's response to them was that he would not yield one inch, even though it should cost him his life. Then Tostado tried to tempt him with advantageous and flattering offers — he would be made prior somewhere, would have a good cell and a good library. He was offered a cross of precious metal. They even sought to bribe him with pieces of gold. Proof against corruption,

the Discalced friar replied, 'A man who is seeking Christ in absolute poverty has no need of golden trinkets.'

It was all unavailing. The tribunal declared him a rebel and contumacious. For such the Constitutions prescribed imprisonment for whatever period the General of the Order should judge fitting — in the present case P. Tostado, as Visitor, gave sentence in the General's stead, and Fray John was taken off first to the monastery prison and then, at the end of two months, when Fray Germán's escape became known, he was removed to another place, specially contrived for him, narrow, dark and as airless as a tomb. It was a recess embedded in the wall, six feet wide and ten long. There was no window. Originally intended as a closet for the adjoining room which was set aside for guests, it had a small opening just over two inches wide high up in the wall, looking out on to a corridor.[5] On the floor, which up till then had been utilized for the room's original purpose, were some boards and two old blankets. These would form the prisoner's bed.

Here Fray John was brought on a winter's day, deprived of his hood and scapular as a token of punishment for his rebellion. All he had with him was his breviary. Soon he would feel the effects of the terrible cold of Toledo which had made such an impression on Madre Teresa a year earlier, and would find the skin coming off his toes from frost-bite. Here he was to spend nine months, solitary, hungry, in an atmosphere with an unpleasant smell, wasting away amid these wretched surroundings, with no other light than that which came in through the diminutive opening high up in the wall of the tiny cell.

Every now and then the friars made vexatious remarks outside the door, so that the wretched prisoner should hear them. They said hard things of the obstinacy of the Discalced and pretended that Tostado had caused their houses to be suppressed. They said it was certain that the Reform was doomed to disappear forthwith under the firm handling of the new nuncio, Philip Sega, who had no love for it. He even heard this wounding, threatening remark: 'Why do we bother about this man? Let us throw him into a well and no one will know what has become of him.' At other times they led him to understand that he would leave the prison only for the tomb.

The food was wretched — bread, water and sardines, sometimes only half a one. Sometimes the gaoler as a treat would give him the community's leavings. Three days in the week,

Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays as prescribed by the Constitutions, he fasted on bread and water; he also received the circular discipline,[6] the punishment assigned to rebels. Discipline days were the only ones on which he left his prison. While the friars were taking supper, the gaoler would lead Fray John to the refectory. He came in just as he was in the prison, with habit and belt, but without scapular or hood. While the friars were seated at table eating, Fray John, kneeling on the floor in the middle of the refectory, partook of his portion of bread and water.

As soon as supper was finished, the superior reprimanded the prisoner, upbraiding him harshly. He listened meekly, in silence, to the grave and insulting charges which they brought against him. He was accused of hypocrisy. He had become Discalced and put on the rough frieze in order to be thought a saint. By so doing he had thrown the entire Order into confusion. 'And who is he?' said the prior contemptuously; 'A wretched little friar like him to cause us all this disturbance!' On Fridays, when the reprimand was finished, Fray John bared his shoulders and the prior began the circular discipline, each friar administering it in turn. It lasted the space of a *Miserere*. The blows must have been painful, for the friars struck vigorously. Fray John's shoulders ran with blood and for many years afterwards he still had the wounds, which would not close properly, of these floggings in Toledo. Once more back to prison until the next appointed day, if the contumacious Discalced friar persisted in his obdurate attitude.

In the monastery were some young friars, novices and students, who were deeply moved by the gentle meekness with which Fray John bore the insults and blows. Some even wept from compassion, saying to each other, 'This man is a saint, they can say what they like.' Very possibly there was in the community someone or other from among his fellow-students at the University of Salamanca. Four Carmelite students from Toledo appear in the university matriculation register with Fray John: Fray Bartolomé Sánchez, who in the academic year 1564–5 — the first in which Fray John matriculated as an Arts student — was already listed as a priest and theologian and who continued his studies in the following year; Fray Luis Ruiz and Fray Cristóbal of Toledo, Arts men like Fray John in the years 1565–6 and 1566–7; and Fray Alonso de Villalba, who was an Arts student when Fray John, already a priest, was studying as a theologian. Barely nine years had slipped by. Fray Alonso de Villalba, if he followed the

normal course of studies, would have returned from Salamanca quite recently. Obviously, then, in the Toledo monastery there must have been some of Fray John's fellow-students who would know all about his abilities and his exemplary life at the College of San Andrés. He had been their prefect. It was thus natural, altogether apart from the heroic patience which they admired in him, and despite the recriminations of superiors, that there should be some there moved to compassion in the face of his sad and pitiable plight.

Fray John spent the interminable days and nights alone, in the darkness of his tiny cell embedded in the wall. He had no change of clothing. When at the end of four or five months the asphyxiating heat of the Toledan summer arrived, the prison became unbearable. The poor Discalced friar was being wasted away in turn by hunger, fever, and lice. The short under-tunic which he had on when he came and which they did not allow him to change or wash, was falling to pieces and half rotting on his body. To crown his sufferings he was troubled by a terrible anxiety. By dint of listening to their recriminations, he began to wonder whether the fathers of the Observance might not be right. Had he possibly made a mistake in setting on foot the way of life of the Discalced? He had done so with full permission. Had not the General, Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo, enthusiastically authorized the foundation of the first houses of the Reform by his letters patent dated from Barcelona, 16 August 1567? And was not Madre Teresa's connection with the foundation and its development the surest guarantee that it was a work legitimately set on foot for the glory of God and the good of the Order? The painful question lingered at the back of his troubled mind, however, repeating itself again and again like the password of the sentry guarding an interior prison in which the soul suffered pains of asphyxiation. Moreover, it grieved him that the Discalced, and above all the Mother Foundress, knowing nothing of his attitude, might think that 'he had come to turn his back on what he had begun'. A darkness as of night enveloped his spirit, a night darker than that, without the light of moon or stars, in which his body lay.

Meanwhile, Madre Teresa, amid all the burden of her labours not only as foundress, but a foundress suffering persecution, was much concerned at the lot of her saintly little Fray John. She even counted the days since he was taken off to prison. 'It will be a

week to-morrow since they were taken', she wrote on 10 December to María de San José. 'Sixteen days to-day since our two friars were taken,' she wrote again on the 19th. In January she was still worrying about it. On the 16th she wrote to the Archbishop of Evora, don Teutomo de Braganza: 'It's now more than a month since, at the orders of Padre Tostado, they took the two Discalced friars prisoner.' She still did not know where they were. To throw her off the scent, they even told her that Fray John was in Rome.

But she did not stop at grieving over the matter. We have already seen how on the day following their capture, she wrote to King Philip II protesting, asking him for the love of God to 'order them to be set free without delay'. She mentioned the report and complaint sent by the nuns of the Incarnation to his majesty's Council. She had hopes that it would have the desired effect. 'We do not know if they have set them free, although we have hope in God who will surely remedy things.' Half-way through December, when it was already nearly Christmas, she was grieving that the matter, since it must pass through official channels, would have to remain in suspense until after the Epiphany.[7] 'As Christmas is now coming and no judicial business can be transacted until after the Epiphany, if the matter is not settled now it will be a lengthy travail for those who are suffering.'

Some time later rumours reached the Madre that Fray John was imprisoned in Toledo. She took up her pen and wrote to the prioress of the Discalced nuns in the imperial city. She mentioned her grief at Fray John's imprisonment, saying that she did not know where he was but that it was said that he was there, in Toledo, and asked the prioress, Ana de los Ángeles, to try to verify this. The prioress did as she was asked. The confessor of the Discalced nuns was a Calced Carmelite father and she tried to get the truth from him, but her efforts were unsuccessful. She then asked another friar of the same monastery who was in the habit of calling to beg for alms, but again she did not succeed in getting to know anything definite, although it seems that she began to have a fairly good suspicion of the truth. The impenetrable reserve of the Calced friars is not surprising. Although they did feel sympathy for Fray John and were fond of the Discalced nuns in Toledo, a clause in the Constitutions forbade them, under the severest penalties, in any way to favour a prisoner. Whoever contravened this law was deprived of his rank, taking the lowest

place in all community exercises, and if he was a conventual, was deprived of a voice and vote in the Chapter.

Madre Teresa, unwilling to own herself beaten, continued to work to set Fray John free. She complained that nobody troubled about him: 'I do not know how it comes about', she wrote to P. Gracián, 'that there is never anyone who remembers this holy man.' In another letter she urged him to take steps to approach Philip II, suggesting that P. Mariano whom the king so highly esteemed would in all probability prove a successful negotiator. 'Padre Mariano', she said to Gracián, 'should speak with him [i.e. the king] and then he could be brought to understand, and entreated and reminded that our holy little Fray John has been imprisoned. . . . In short, the king gives audience to all: I do not know why people do not tell him of it and ask his help — Padre Mariano in particular.' At the end, when the prisoner was already making preparations for his escape, if he had not actually escaped by that date — 19 August — she suggested measures which could be taken for his release: 'Let a person of standing speak to the nuncio, informing him what sort of a person Fray John really is; if Padre Mariano were to ask this from the Princess of Éboli, she would surely manage it. . . .' This was the only voice that was raised in the prisoner's interests. It seems that others did nothing. It does not appear that Gracián took a single step, despite the urgent entreaties of Madre Teresa. All the other Discalced friars who had been imprisoned — Fray Antonio, Gracián himself, Ambrosio Mariano, Juan de Jesús Roca had come out of prison, and that in a very short time. Only Fray John remained in solitary confinement, hungry and neglected in his cell at Toledo.

Six months after his imprisonment there was a change of offices and he was put under the charge of a new warder. This was a young father, just arrived from Valladolid. His name was Fray Juan de Santa María. Less rigid or more compassionate than the previous one, whose name is unknown to us, he tried to afford the wretched friar some relief. He began by sparing him, when he could, the coming down to the refectory for the circular discipline. The first day the prisoner noticed this, he gently protested to his gaoler saying: 'Father, why have they deprived me of my merit?' This finally convinced Fray Juan de Santa María of the holiness of his prisoner, and after a few days he turned up at the prison cell with a clean tunic to replace the one the prisoner had which was now in rags. This gave Fray John a certain con-

fidence and he asked for paper and ink to set down in writing certain matters of devotion so that he might entertain himself by so doing. The young warder brought them and Fray John, taking advantage of the short time when the light of noonday came into the slot which was no more than three fingers wide, wrote lyric poems and *romances* which he had been mentally composing in the solitude of his prison. We know with certainty which the poems were that he wrote, namely the greater part of those of the *Spiritual Canticle*, the *romances*, including that on the Psalm, 'By the waters of Babylon', the very short poem of the *Fountain which flows and runs*, and, probably, the poems of the *Dark Night*.[8]

The lyric poems, all, that is, except the *romances*, reflect his state of imprisonment: images of sorrow, laments, persistent imagery of night and darkness:

Where hast thou hidden thyself,
Beloved, leaving me to my moan?

. . . . .

Shepherds, you that go through the sheep-folds yonder, to the high slope,
If by chance you should see him whom I most love,
Tell him that I suffer, grieve and die.

. . . . .

How well I know that fountain that flows and runs, although it be by night.

. . . . .

On a dark night . . .

When the month of August came — it is unbearably hot in Toledo — Fray John felt his strength failing; he was completely worn out. There were no signs that they thought of releasing him from his terrible imprisonment. According to the Constitutions of the Order, the prisoner remained at the disposal of the General, who was the only person who could lift the punishment. In Fray John's case, since he had been imprisoned by the Visitor-General, Fray Jerónimo Tostado, who was acting with the authority of the *reverendísimo*, the prisoner was at the disposal of the Visitor. It did not appear that he thought of releasing the friar, especially now that — after the ban imposed on his authority by the attitude of his majesty's Council which had forbidden him to visit the Discalced — he found himself with free hands, thanks to the recent decisions of the new nuncio, Philip Sega. The latter, under date of 23 July of this same year 1578, had just published a Brief in

which, cancelling the measures taken by the former nuncio, he not only deprived Gracián of his authority as Visitor, but handed over to the Calced the government of the Discalced friars. The Reform trembled in the face of this measure. Madre Teresa, whose courage was always manly, encouraged and reassured her sons, Gracián in particular. Her courage did not falter for a moment. In the thickest of the fight she wrote, 'Not for one instant have I been without confidence in a successful issue.'

It is certain that the king, when he learnt of the nuncio's Brief, which had been published without informing his Majesty's Council of the pontifical authority on which it had been issued, gave orders to all the authorities concerned that Sega's document was to be withdrawn. But the Calced continued to act as if the Brief still had legal force. Worse still, Padre Tostado did not conceal his intention of destroying the Reform. Madre Teresa feared him more than all the measures which might emanate from the nuncio against the Discalced: 'If in the midst of all this one did not know that Tostado had come to destroy us. . . . In exchange for not being subject to those of the Cloth, I shall think it all well worth while.'

We do not know whether Fray John was aware of the terrible crisis through which the Reform was passing. Probably he learnt, in exaggerated form, of the advantages won by the Calced. It is certain that they commented on them outside the door of his prison cell, so that he should hear and lose heart. In any event he could not hope for an early release and even came to fear for his life. Fray John realized that he was wasting away, dying by inches; they paid no attention, although they could see his strength gradually failing, and he thought it was because they wanted to make an end of him. There was no remedy, no hope, other than in flight. Strong interior impulses urged him to this course. He commended the matter to our Lord day after day and then decided to seek means to carry it out.[9]

He scarcely knew where his prison cell was situated. Brought in by night, he had only left it at night to go to the refectory to receive the circular discipline. Thus he did not know how to escape nor in which direction. In order to be able to form some idea as to where he was, he offered to perform, himself, the services of hygiene which it was the gaoler's task to see to in the tiny cell. That no one should notice, he could, he suggested, do this while the friars were taking their siesta. Out of kindness the gaoler

agreed.[10] He thus left the door of the little cell open and while he and the community were resting during the midday heat, Fray John came out to do the chores, as agreed, and took the opportunity to examine the outer room and the cloister or corridor. He peeped through its great arched windows which, to the east, on the Tagus side, looked on to one of the monastery yards. Before the friars began to stir, the gaoler returned and Fray John, clasping his hands to his breast in a gesture of gratitude, thanked him for the kindness he had done him and went into the prison cell again, which was once more locked.

Next day, at the same hour and on the same occasion, he ventured a step farther. The door of the prison cell was secured with a padlock and two screws. Fray John gave his attention to loosening these, pulling them out and putting them back again several times, so as to make the hole larger and make it possible for the screws, already loose, to fall out easily when given a push from inside. Before long, the gaoler had given him scissors, needle and thread, so that he could piece together the rags of which his tunic and habit consisted. On one occasion when he went to empty his pail, he took the thread that remained, fastened a small stone to one of its ends and, letting it down from one of the windows of the corridor, measured the height from the window to the ground. He then returned to his prison cell. There, stretching the thread from end to end, he measured the two small blankets which served him as bed, and found that if he tore them into strips they would be a matter of some eleven or twelve feet short of reaching the ground. Twelve feet could be jumped without risk, taking into account the length of his body when the arms were stretched upwards.

Fray John called the gaoler. He asked his pardon for the trouble he had given him and begged him to accept a crucifix which he was giving him as a token of gratitude. The cross was of precious wood with the instruments of the Passion embossed on it, the figure of Christ being of bronze. He had worn it against his heart beneath his scapular and it was a gift from someone, which made the holy image more valuable. The gaoler accepted the crucifix and kept it safely for many years.[11]

It was the middle of August and Fray John must have been stifled in the oppressive and overwhelming heat of Toledo. At noon, the hour at which he could peep over the little balcony which looked on to the Tagus, the cliffs on the opposite bank of

the river were flashing fire and, from the tawny colour of its walls and towers, it seemed as if the castle of San Servando was going to catch alight. On the 14th, the eve of our Lady's Assumption, Fray John was kneeling in prayer, his forehead touching the ground, his back towards the locked door of his cell. The father prior, Fray Maldonado, opened the door and came in. Fray John remained as he was. 'Why do you not rise when I come to see you?' said the prior, prodding him with his foot. The prisoner made an effort, got up and humbly excused himself. 'I thought it was the gaoler.' Moreover, he added, his weak condition prevented him from getting up quickly and, furthermore, his thoughts were elsewhere. 'What, then, were you thinking about just now?' rejoined the prior. 'That to-morrow is our Lady's feast and how much I should love to say Mass,' replied Fray John. 'Not while I am here,' answered P. Maldonado brusquely and went out, securing the door behind him.

Fray John harboured not the slightest resentment. It was true that the hardness and lack of understanding on the part of his brethren caused him pain. But he found excuses for them. The gaoler who was witness to his bitter sufferings of soul and body did not hear him utter one complaint, and later, when, freed at last from his painful captivity, Fray John recounted the incidents of the nine months of prison, nobody heard a word from him against his persecutors. He even stood up for them saying that 'they did it because they did not understand'.

But he was convinced he ought to get away. Prepared as he was to die there if such were God's will, he yet experienced strong impulses in prayer urging him to escape and, certain that our Lord and his Mother, our Lady, would be helping him, he made up his mind. It was during the octave of the Assumption.[12] Fray John had prepared everything: he had torn the blankets into strips, knotted and sewn them together by the ends, and he had in his hand the hook belonging to the oil-lamp which the gaoler had recently lent him. It was night and the moon was full.[13] The gaoler brought his supper, but he had forgotten the water. While he went for it, Fray John made the most of his short absence — he had left the door open — and loosened the screwed staples of the padlock. When the prisoner had finished his collation, the gaoler locked the door without noticing anything unusual and went away.

The atmosphere was still charged with the heat of the sultry

summer day. The windows of the monastery looking down on to the Tagus were wide open, like so many mouths in search of air to breathe. Even the door of the large room into which Fray John's little cell opened remained ajar that night. Two fathers of importance who had recently come to the monastery had their quarters in this outer room. Their beds were by the door, which was left open to take advantage of the relative coolness of the air which came in through the corridor window. The two visiting friars, already in bed, had been talking for a long time. Fray John, keeping watch behind the door of his prison cell, heard them.

At two o'clock there was no longer any sound. Fray John concluded that the guests had gone to sleep and gave the door of his cell a push. The loosened screws of the padlock gave way and fell to the ground with a clatter. The friars woke up. '*Deo gratias*, who is it?' one of them called out. Fray John remained motionless. The visitors went to sleep again. The prisoner seized the strips of blanket and the hook from the lamp, came out of his cell, passed cautiously between the beds of the two friars who were asleep, going from their room into the corridor and straight to the arched window which overlooked the Tagus.[14] It was a *mirador*, a balconied window with its parapet of brick and clay coming half-way up, about as high as a man's waist, with a wooden beam on top as a handrail. This must have been a moment of keen suspense for the escaping friar. The light of the moon, which lit up the castle of San Servando and the fortified towers of the Alcázar gate, would throw reflections on to the waters of the river below. To the right could be discerned the silhouette of the cliffs and of the olive-trees clinging precipitously to the steep river bank.

Fray John inserted the lamp-hook between the wooden beam and the bricks which served as a parapet to the balcony. He fastened one end of the knotted strips of blanket to the hook, letting the other hang over the balcony. He then took off his habit, threw it down on the ground below, made the sign of the cross, and 'clinging on with his hands and knees' began to slide down the knotted blanket. When he reached the end there was still a distance of some five or six feet to reach the ground. Fray John knew this, for he had measured the height, and he let himself drop. He dropped at a point in the city wall, a narrow wall without battlements and just then heaped with stones for a piece

of masonry work in the monastery. Had he fallen two feet farther out, Fray John's body would have been dashed headlong on to the rocky banks of the Tagus.

Once on the ground, the fugitive put on the habit which he had thrown down before his descent and went towards the left, making his way along the top of the wall until he found himself in a little yard with no outlet. Four walls surrounded it, all high and difficult to scale. To his right, forming an angle, were the city walls above the rocky cliffs of the Tagus, to the left the wall of the Carmelite monastery, in front that of the convent of the Conception nuns. The escaping friar went backwards and forwards, seeking a way out by the light of the moon, and eventually recognized the place. He was in the yard belonging to some nuns of whom his gaoler had once spoken to him. Fray John experienced an anguish akin to death. What a scandal if they found him there when it was morning! Besides, the Calced friars would come and imprison him again and the terrible reprisals they might take for his escape filled him with dismay. He feared they might even kill him. He felt so exhausted and troubled that he thought of returning to the prison if he could, or of confessing his fault publicly to the friars, so that they might perhaps have compassion on him.

He made a final effort. Worn out as he was, he went round the yard, again looking for a way out. Finally, by means of some holes in the wall at one of the corners, and perhaps taking advantage of the angle formed where the two walls met, after much struggling he somehow found himself on top. He did not know how he got there. Fray John breathed. He dragged himself flat along the wall until he came to a place where it overlooked an alleyway. He looked round, saw that no one was passing, and dropped down the wall into the street.[15]

He did not know Toledo, but he made his way up the street towards the market-square — the Zocodover — which was close at hand. After taking a few steps he saw a light and heard voices coming from a tavern just by the monastery. The people saw him, thought that they had not opened the monastery because of its being such a late hour, and invited him to wait there until it should be day. 'Father, come in; you'll be able to stay here until morning, for as it is late they won't open.' Fray John thanked them for the invitation, but continued his flight. He crossed the Zocodover. The market-women who were dozing at the foot of

their stands, noticed the friar pass, barefooted, with no hood and his habit torn, and they insulted him with coarse remarks until he was out of sight.

We do not know along which street Fray John made his way from the Zocodover. If he had known the exact whereabouts of his destination — the convent of the Discalced Carmelite nuns (it was actually quite close to the Zocodover) — he would have turned to the right along the Calle de la Sillería, continuing along the winding Correo (now Nuñez de Arce), at the end of which, in a tiny square, was the convent of Madre Teresa's daughters.[16] But the fugitive did not know this. Perhaps in his confusion he turned in the opposite direction. He found a door open. In the lobby, the light of a torch lit up the face of a knight standing there with a drawn sword in his hand, and that of a servant who was holding the light. Fray John stopped. 'I beg your honour', he said to the knight, 'to be so very kind as to allow me to stay in this lobby for the night on the stone bench here, because they will not open the door to me at my monastery on account of the lateness of the hour. As soon as it is morning, I will go away.' The knight agreed. Fray John came in, the door of the staircase closed behind him, and he remained alone in the lobby. There he lay on the stone bench and the hours passed until it was morning. When it began to get light he hammered on the staircase door. He must have been uneasy: it was getting late, for it was already eight o'clock. A servant opened the street door for him and Fray John went out in search of the convent of the Discalced nuns. He asked the first people he met with and they set him on his way.

When he arrived at the convent of San José the outside door was still closed, but he knocked. The woman who looked after the outer lodge for the nuns opened it. Then he knocked at the turn and when the turn-sister, Leonor de Jesús, asked from inside who it was, the friar replied: 'Daughter, I am Fray John of the Cross, and I escaped from prison last night. Tell the mother prioress.' Leonor de Jesús carried the news to the prioress, Ana de los Ángeles, and the latter ran to the turn. Fray John asked her for shelter, for if the Calced fathers were to catch him, they would make mincemeat of him. A nun who was ill, Ana de la Madre de Dios, had just asked for a priest to hear her confession. The prioress thought that Fray John could come inside for this purpose. She called the sisters in charge of the keys, two nuns who, with the prioress, alone could open the enclosure door, and in the

presence of a novice, Francisca de San Eliseo, Fray John came in, closing the door with its triple lock behind him.

The nuns were appalled at his appearance. He was haggard, unshaven and dirty; his habit was torn, he had no cloak or hood. He could scarcely stand, nor had he the strength to speak. His life seemed to be ebbing away. To the prioress Fray John expressed his fears that the Calced friars might arrive in search of him at any moment, and she took the precaution of replacing the turn-sister by Isabel de San Jerónimo, who would keep the secret of the escaped prisoner's arrival more safely than Leonor de Jesús, who was young, inexperienced and somewhat naïve.

Within a few minutes two friars arrived from the Carmelite monastery, asking cautiously for a father of the Order who was called Fray John of the Cross. Isabel de San Jerónimo avoided a direct reply: 'It would be a miracle if you were to see any friar here,' she answered. The friars asked for the keys of the parlour and the church, made a detailed search and went away without saying anything. But they did not relax in their endeavours. While some, backed up by constables, patrolled the convent of the Discalced nuns throughout the day, others set off in search of the escaped prisoner along the roads they suspected he might have taken, going as far as Ávila and Medina del Campo. The gaoler, Fray Juan de Santa María, punished for having allowed the prisoner to escape, was now reduced to the lowest rank and deprived of voice and vote in Chapter in accordance with the prescriptions of the Constitutions of the Order. But there were on his side two brethren who inwardly rejoiced at the escape of the unfortunate friar.

Meanwhile, inside the enclosure, Fray John, surrounded by the nuns who continued to look at him in amazement, related in a weak voice the incidents of his life in the prison and the escape. They in their turn would tell the story at the beatification inquiry. He was there until midday. The nuns made a fuss of him to the best of their ability. As he was unable to take strong meats owing to his condition of extreme weakness after nine months on bread, water and sardines, the infirmarian sister, Teresa de le Concepción, brought him some pears cooked with cinnamon. Others cleaned and tidied his habit, he wearing in the meantime an old cassock they had belonging to the chaplain of the convent.[17]

Towards noon, when the Masses were over and the outer door of the church closed, Fray John entered it from the inside through

a small communicating door. There he spent the afternoon. Leaning on the outside of the low choir grille — the nuns being on the inside — he read to them the *romances* he had written in prison. The weak voice of 'our little saint Fray John', as Madre Teresa called him, must have sounded like the sigh of angels in the silence and semi-darkness of the sacred precincts.

In the beginning dwelt the Word,
Who dwelt in God,
In whom he possessed his infinite felicity.
That very Word was God
Who declared himself to be the beginning
Though he was without beginning.

. . . . .

In that immense love
Which from them both proceeded,
Words of high bliss
The Father spoke to the Son,
Of such deep delight,
That they passed all understanding;
Only the Son rejoiced thereat,
For it is he to whom they referred.

While Fray John read the verses slowly, a nun wrote them down. The nuns later said that 'to hear him was heavenly joy'.

Night came. The mother prioress, Ana de los Ángeles, did not think that Fray John ought to spend the night hours in the church. She sent a message secretly to a benefactor of the community, don Pedro González de Mendoza, a canon of the cathedral and administrator of the Hospital of Santa Cruz, and the worthy prebendary came round to the convent of the Discalced nuns. The prioress informed him of all that had happened, and don Pedro offered to take Fray John back with him. Just as he was, with the cassock over his habit so that he should not be recognized, the canon put him into a carriage and they made their way to the Hospital of Santa Cruz, renowned for its fine plateresque façade. It was not far from the Discalced nuns' convent, but was nearer the Alcázar and also very close to the monastery of the Carmelite friars. Fray John must have passed it that morning as he was escaping from prison. From the Hospital he could see the

windows of the corridor and perhaps the little balcony from which he climbed down, the yard of the Conceptionist nuns, the walls which he scrambled over in his flight. Little did the Carmelite fathers think that the escaped Discalced friar was so near!

10

IN THE SEGURA SIERRA

FRAY JOHN escaped from prison at what proved to be a most unfortunate moment for the Reform. The nuncio Ormaneto was dead, the appointment as Visitor which Gracián had received was cancelled by his successor, Philip Sega, and the Discalced friars had been handed over defenceless to the jurisdiction of the Calced fathers. Padre Tostado, favoured by the new nuncio, renewed his attacks against the Discalced houses with measures that were Draconian. Communities were divided and the Discalced fathers unsettled. Even the regular observance and primitive austerity had weakened as a consequence of such great and bitter internal strife. Madre Teresa, confined to the first convent she had founded in Ávila, suffered inwardly from the harsh attacks that were directed against her work.

In an almost desperate attempt at their own defence, the Discalced fathers, in spite of doubts about the legality of such a step, convened a Chapter in Almodóvar for 9 October. It was merely for the execution of what had been agreed upon the previous year at the meeting held there. They had then decided that immediately Padre Gracián, considered as Provincial Superior as well as Visitor, should go out of office, P. Antonio de Jesús should convene a Chapter to proceed to the election of a new Provincial. Since Gracián had been deprived of his office as Visitor by decree of the nuncio Sega, dated 23 July, it was thought that the moment had arrived for holding the meeting to be convened for the purpose of taking precautions against the alarming attitude of the Calced friars. The meeting was accordingly held.

At it were present Padre Antonio de Jesús, Fray Pedro de los Ángeles, prior of El Calvario; Gregorio Nacianceno, Gabriel de la Asunción, Ambrosio de San Pedro and Francisco de la Concepción, prior of La Peñuela. It does not seem that Pedro Gracián or Padre Ambrosio Mariano were present. Fray John of the

Cross also came — whether he was summoned by Padre Antonio to be present at the Chapter or happened to arrive at the same time as the meeting is not clear. Modern biographers of the saint consider the former supposition to be correct, but there is no document to confirm this. Perhaps Fray John, thinking himself strong enough to travel, decided to go to Almodóvar which, in addition to being the nearest house of Discalced friars where he could get into contact with his brethren after the ten long months of total isolation in which he had been living, was also the house farthest away from the centre of action of the Calced fathers who would still be looking for him. In any event it is a fact that he arrived at Almodóvar when the Chapter was meeting and took part in it.

He was still weak and in poor health when he arrived, accompanied by the servants of don Pedro de Mendoza, the distinguished prebendary of Toledo, who had kept him for two months in his house at the Hospital of Santa Cruz at Toledo, hiding him and looking after him. The care he received there, however, was not sufficient to restore entirely an organism which, when Fray John left the prison, was gravely impaired by all the ill-treatment received there.

We know the course taken by Fray John from Toledo to Almodóvar. The route followed in those days was identical with that of to-day — there were the roadside inns of Piesma, Orgaz, Yébenes, Guadalerza, Darazután, Zarzuela, then Malagón, Peralvillo, Ciudad Real, Caraquel, Almodóvar. He left Toledo, then, by the Alcántara bridge and climbed the low hill forested with evergreen oaks until he came down to the plain of Burguillos; then, always bearing south, he passed between further hills, bare of vegetation, and over tillage land — Ajofrín, a tiny hamlet, Arabic in name as it was in its buildings, and Orgaz, with its massive castle of dressed stone — until he came to the fertile plain of rust-red soil. A ridge of hills cut through it from east to west and on the summit windmills stood out against the skyline, a clear sign that La Mancha was near. On the southern slope the white houses of Yébenes were outlined against the bright reddish earth like a flock of white doves. Farther across the *vega* lay the wooded slopes of Yébenes — oaks, holm-oaks, rock-roses, rosemary and thyme. Then came the plains of Malagón and Ciudad Real and, at the end of a long, gentle downward slope, Almodóvar del Campo. It lay on the northern side of a hill

which cut off both the view and the route to the south. It had an imposing church, with Calatrava armorial bearings and fine panelling.

Quite close, in the Calle de San Diego,[1] which began at the back of the church and turned north-west, was the monastery of the Discalced friars.[2] It was here that Fray John arrived, accompanied by the servants of don Pedro González de Mendoza.

When Madre Teresa, who had already had news of his escape and of the distressing state in which he left the prison, learnt, almost certainly by a letter from the prioress of Toledo, that Fray John, without taking time to recuperate, had started off for Almodóvar, she hastened to write to Padre Gracián, protesting at their allowing him to travel in this state and charging him to take care of him.

> I have been no little grieved at the experience Fray John has been going through, and that they should let him, ill as he was, start off on a journey there. I hope to God we shan't lose him by death. Let Your Paternity try and see that he is very well looked after at Almodóvar, and does not travel farther, as a favour to me, and don't omit to tell them about this. See that you don't forget it. I can tell Your Paternity that if he should die, you would have few left like him.

When Madre Teresa's letter came into Padre Gracián's hands, the members of the Chapter of Almodóvar were already carrying out their duties of charity towards Fray John. They appointed Fray Pedro de Jesús as infirmarian and he looked after him as if he were his father. Fray John, full of affection and gratitude, edified and delighted his infirmarian, who years later was to boast of the holiness of his patient, considering it a great privilege to have been able to be in contact with him and look after him during his stay in Almodóvar.

His state of weakness and ill-health did not prevent Fray John from being present at the Chapter meetings. Fray Antonio de Jesús, who was presiding, began by justifying the convening of the Chapter. The matter of its legal status had been investigated, and if there were learned authorities who were of opinion that the Discalced fathers were not legally empowered to hold it, others, on the other hand, affirmed that such a course was perfectly legitimate. We know nothing of the attitude adopted by Fray John or by the rest of the fathers of the Chapter in the face of this problem.[3] The fact, however, that the Chapter was held in their

presence and resolutions taken at it, leads us logically to suppose that they were in agreement with the reasons given by Fray Antonio.

Three important resolutions were taken: the election of the Provincial, an office which fell to Padre Antonio himself; the appointment, as was done in the earlier Chapter held in Almodóvar on 9 September 1576, of a Procurator who should go to Rome to ask for the separation of the Discalced into a province apart — a mission for which P. Gabriel de la Asunción was first thought of, but which was finally entrusted to P. Nicolás de Jesús María (Doria), with P. Pedro de los Ángeles as his *socius*; and, lastly, the appointment of Fray John of the Cross to replace the latter as Superior of the monastery of El Calvario.[4] With regard to the sending of the two friars to Rome, Fray John asked that the deed of appointment should be signed by all and this was accordingly done. Later, certain members of the Chapter regretted signing, alarmed at the dangerous consequences and compromising position in which it might place them. Fray John himself, however, calmed their fears, assuring them prophetically of the ultimate success of the business.

The Chapter was still in session when P. Juan de Jesús Roca arrived in Almodóvar from Madrid. The nuncio had ordered him to return to Mancera, of which house he was prior. Informed, however, of the meeting of the Discalced fathers and knowing the hostile attitude of the nuncio, he loyally came to Almodóvar to warn the fathers of the Chapter of the danger of their situation. The meeting — Padre Roca thought — was illegal. A question of jurisdiction was involved — the election of a Provincial, the appointment of local Superiors as in the case of El Calvario, the choosing of Procurators for Rome — and the Discalced friars were completely without authority for such matters. The resolutions taken were, then, illegal and invalid. Moreover, if it were to come to the knowledge of the nuncio, the revenge he would take, given his state of mind, which was hostile to the Discalced, might have fatal consequences for the Reform.

The fathers of the Chapter, however, remained resolute. To ward off in time the possible blow which they feared from the nuncio, it was decided that the new Provincial, accompanied by some of those present, should go to Madrid to explain to Sega, before it came to his knowledge through other channels, the resolutions arrived at, submitting them to his approval and asking

his blessing for the continuation of the work begun. Meanwhile, to avoid the possibility that Padre Roca, in disgust, should see the nuncio first, the former was detained in Almodóvar, so to speak, in captivity for a month.

Madre Teresa, who was in Ávila, followed the course of events in the Chapter with dismay. She was alarmed. She knew all about the legal query raised as to the legitimacy of the meeting and feared it might turn out to be a disaster for the Reform. She was particularly worried about their trying to elect a Provincial in those conditions. Before the Chapter met, Padre Antonio had informed the Madre that he purposed to proceed with this election. She had dissuaded him, but in the face of the Padre's declaration that 'under pain of sin there was no other solution', the Foundress did not dare to contradict him.

By 15 October the decision of the fathers of the Chapter to send Discalced friars to Rome to negotiate the separation had already reached her. The Madre had often desired this and even hinted at it, but she now feared for the fate of those who were going. She took up her pen and wrote to Padre Gracián:

> Here we are all of one mind that the friars ought not to go to Rome, especially now that our Father-General is dead, for the following reasons: firstly, because nothing can be done in secret and before they leave here perhaps the [Calced] friars will seize them, which is tantamount to putting them to death; secondly, both money and documents might be lost; thirdly, they are not very experienced; fourthly, when they got there, since Father-General is no longer there, they might be seized as fugitives, for, after all, they would be wandering about the streets with no help from anyone.

The Madre, in whose mind the news of what Fray John of the Cross suffered in the prison at Toledo was so fresh, added, 'If here, with all our influence, we could not help Fray John, how will it be there? Everybody thinks it bad policy to send the friars.' A few lines farther on she insisted, 'If it seems good to Your Paternity and to Padre Mariano, let a messenger be sent to Almodóvar that they do not arrange for the friars' departure and send me a message quickly.'

Little notice was taken of Madre Teresa's warning and both the election[5] of the Provincial and the sending to Rome of Discalced friars to negotiate, in addition to the separation, confirmation of what was agreed at the Chapter and the elections

made at it, were proceeded with. It was not, however, Padre Doria who went, as had been decided in the beginning. Doria was retained in Madrid by the nuncio and the mission was entrusted to Padre Pedro de los Ángeles, who was given as his companion a discreet and fervent lay-brother, Fray Juan de Santiago. When Padre Pedro said farewell to the fathers of the Chapter, Fray John of the Cross, to the astonishment of those who were aware of the strict, penitent and recollected life of Padre Pedro — it was said that he spent his nights in prayer, experienced raptures and had had to moderate his penances — assured him as if he were making a prophecy, 'You will go to Italy discalced and will return calced.' A short time afterwards the facts gave the value of prophecy to Fray John's words. Padre Pedro's lack of discretion brought about the failure of his mission and, flattered in Rome, he returned to Spain to turn his back on the Reform.

The Chapter was scarcely closed when Padre Antonio de Jesús, as Provincial, accompanied by almost all the fathers who had taken part, except Fray John of the Cross, went to Madrid to explain to the nuncio what had been done. The reply was scathing. Sega, furiously angry, scarcely listened to the first words, breaking out into insults against Madre Teresa and the Discalced 'calling them names most unworthy of their persons'. He declared that everything that had been done in the Chapter was nullified, called it an affront to his authority as legate, placed the Discalced completely under the jurisdiction of the Calced, and sent the principal subjects of the Reform whom he had in his hands to prison. Padre Antonio was imprisoned with Padre Gabriel de la Asunción in the monastery of San Bernardino in Madrid, Padre Mariano in that of the Dominicans of Atocha. Padre Gregorio Nancianceno he forced to leave immediately for Seville.[6] At the same time he hurled sentence of excommunication against all those who had taken part in the Almodóvar Chapter. Fray John of the Cross, then, was excommunicated.

We do not know if this disastrous end to the Chapter came to Fray John's knowledge. Perhaps by this time he was already on his way to Andalusia, to take up the office assigned to him at the meeting. It was one of the few decisions of the Almodóvar Chapter that was given effect. Since the exact date of the Chapter's dissolution is unknown, it is impossible to fix with accuracy the date of the departure of the new Superior of El Calvario.[7] It seems difficult to think that it was long delayed, partly because of the

insecurity in which Fray John was situated, so close to the Calced friars, and partly because the servants of don Pedro González de Mendoza were still waiting to take him to his destination. It may be fixed approximately at the end of October.

Fray John left Almodóvar en route for Andalusia.[8] He probably followed the same itinerary that Madre Teresa had taken three years earlier when she went from Almodóvar to the foundation at Beas. To the same place and from the same starting-point as the Madre Fundadora, then, Fray John of the Cross also turned his steps. In addition to don Pedro's servants, Padre Francisco de la Concepción, a Catalan and prior of La Peñuela, accompanied him. They crossed the southern part of La Mancha which separated them from Andalusia, came down through the difficult broken ground of the pass of Despeñaperros, where Madre Teresa was lost on her journey, and bearing towards the right, passed by the foot of Las Navas de Tolosa. From there they reached La Peñuela, a small and lonely monastery on the southern slope of the Sierra Morena. Founded on 29 June 1573, it had been abandoned in 1576 and the foundation transferred to El Calvario. On 10 August of the following year, however, the Discalced friars had returned to La Peñuela. Padre Francisco remained there but Fray John continued on his way, accompanied by the faithful servants of the canon of Toledo. It was rough, uneven ground he crossed — the lower spurs of the mountains, oak plantations, narrow valleys, hills covered with rosemary and strawberry-trees. He passed through Vilches, Santisteban del Puerto, Castellar de Santisteban, with its fertile plain of rust-red earth behind — then Sorihuela, Chiclana to the left, high up on the southern slope of the Sierra of Segura. He came to streams whose banks were covered with oleanders, and crossing the river Guadalimar, its waters the colour of ochre, finally reached Beas de Segura.

There was a convent of Discalced nuns in Beas, founded three years earlier by Madre Teresa. Fray John made a halt there on his way. Near to the end of his journey now, he decided to stay with the nuns and dismiss the escort which had accompanied him from the imperial city. When the latter, retracing their steps over the long route, arrived at Toledo, they broke into loud praise of the young Discalced father and asked who that man was who had something of the saint about him.

Beas was an unmistakably Andalusian town, with its small

whitewashed houses with grilles in front of their big windows and balconies full of flowering plants. The streets, no single one like another, were narrow but clean. It faced west, set like an open fan on the banks of the little river which came down from the sierra and ran from south to north until it lost its identity in the Guadalimar.[9] In the centre of the town was the parish church. Behind the church was situated the convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns which had a tribune opening on to it.[10] The town was surrounded on the east, west and south by small hills, bare on the slopes but their summits covered with rich vegetation.

The prioress of the Discalced nuns already knew Fray John of the Cross. It was Madre Ana de Jesús, who was later foundress of the convents of Granada and Madrid and a herald of Madre Teresa's Reform in France and Flanders. While still a novice in Ávila, she had passed through Mancera on her way to Salamanca in the autumn of 1570, when Fray John was sub-prior of the monastery there.

When the nuns saw Fray John they were moved to pity. He was still weak, pale, no flesh on him, a bad colour, all skin and bone. He scarcely had the strength to speak. The prioress, to give the visit of the friar who was still suffering from the severe ill-treatment he had undergone the air of holy joy so characteristic of the daughters of St Teresa, sent two young nuns, Lucía de San José and Francisca de la Madre de Díos, the latter recently professed, to cheer Fray John by singing some devotional verses. In the half-light of the nuns' small parlour with its grille, there was heard this song:

He who does not experience sufferings
In this vale of sorrows,
Knows nothing of good things,
Nor has he tasted love,
For suffering is the dress of lovers.[11]

Fray John, on account of his extreme physical weakness and even more on account of his spiritual emotion, must have been in a state of acute sensitiveness. He trembled until he could no longer bear the emotion and while he clung to the parlour grating with one hand, he made signs with the other for the singing which was moving him so profoundly to stop. He could not speak. Tears welled up gently and abundantly from his eyes and trickled down his pale cheeks. He clung firmly to the grating with

both hands and remained silent and motionless. An hour passed. When he came to himself, he spoke of how much our Lord had made him understand the value of suffering, and wondered at the little one is willing to suffer for God. Yet he was almost worn away by his sufferings. The nuns listened to him with amazement and edification.[12]

The exact time Fray John spent in Beas is not known, but it is certain that it was not so short a halt as his biographers have supposed. The fact that he dismissed Don Pedro's servants is clearly an indication that when he arrived he did not think of continuing his journey so very soon. It is known that he spent some days at the Beas convent, the first of them in almost complete recollection, scarcely speaking. We have already learned from the nuns that he was too weak and ill to do so.

When they were speaking of Madre Teresa in his first conversations in the parlour, Fray John said that she was 'very much his daughter'. Ana de Jesús, the prioress, did not like this expression. She commented on it, saying to her nuns, 'Fray John of the Cross seems very good, but very young to call our Mother Foundress "my daughter".' She also wrote to the Foundress herself in the same terms, at the same time complaining of the lack of a spiritual director with whom she and her daughters could discuss the things of the soul. It was clear, then, that Madre Ana, although both holy and intelligent, and in spite of Magdalena del Espíritu Santo saying that 'she was discovering what heavenly treasures the soul of Fray John possessed', had not yet realized the value of the young Discalced father. Ailing, somewhat shy, worn out, having little, and nothing striking, to say on account of the state of prostration in which he had left the prison, Fray John's visit to the parlour of Beas on this occasion was not appreciated to the full.

From the parlour he went to the confessional. The first to come to confession was Magdalena del Espíritu Santo. She was also the first to experience the marvellous effect of his words as a spiritual teacher. 'My inmost soul was filled with a great light which brought quiet and peace,' she was to write years later. Although we do not know how many religious talked about the things of the spirit with him on this occasion, the fact that Madre Magdalena said she was the first would seem to indicate that she was not the only one, particularly since she affirmed that 'the others also experienced something of the good father's great power with God,

and the good effects he brought about in their souls'. This, then, was the first contact of the illustrious father of the Reform with this community which was to be the one most dear to his heart.

Fray John resumed his journey. We do not know who accompanied him to El Calvario. The road of more than seven miles was still a long one, steep and rough, at first passing among rocky places and then among wooded thickets, a road that it was not easy to traverse alone, particularly as it was new to him and, moreover, he was so weak and frail. Once the stream was crossed, the steep, rugged slope of the westerly hill began. A hundred paces away a rock marks the place where Fray John was to rest on other journeys to Beas when he came over from El Calvario to hear the nuns' confessions. From there, if he looked round, he could see the attractive vista of the little white houses clustering around the church, the river, swift-flowing and crystal clear, and the *vega*, crossed in the distance by the Guadalimar.

The slope was abrupt. Once one height had been surmounted, another steeper one came into view. The final one, covered with pine trees and rosemary, dominated the southern slope which descended towards the Guadalquivir. On this side the hill slopes were covered with exuberant vegetation, in contrast with the northern side which was sunless and bare. From this height could already be seen far below among the dark green of the trees, less than a mile before the Guadalquivir was reached, the small monastery of El Calvario.

It was a small hired house with an oratory.[13] When Fray John arrived, there was behind it a small cultivated garden, tillage land and a new vine. There were also fig and orange, plum and cherry trees. The place had a reputation as being good for hunting and fishing. Near the monastery and on its northern side, but facing south, was a well surrounded with trees, broom and brambles.[14] On the mountain side there were pines, oaks, holm-oaks, elms and rosemary, blooming even in December. The panorama was magnificent in its light and colour.

To Fray John, for whose eyes the gloomy picture of the dark and narrow prison of Toledo had scarcely yet become blurred, this view, bright but peaceful, with its wide, luminous horizons, the tilled earth full of colour, the atmosphere impregnated with perfumes and charged with distant and mysterious sounds, must have produced a most pleasing impression. There were trickles of water which bubbled up on top of the hill and came zigzagging

down over the slope seeking the Guadalquivir. There was the scent of rock-roses, of rosemary, of thyme. There were the flocks of birds flying swiftly across each other's path. One could even catch the sound of the Andalusian river, which flowed past below over its bed of stone.

When Fray John of the Cross arrived at the monastery, about thirty friars were practising a life of penance there. It would not be necessary for the new Superior to stimulate them to fasting or to the rigours of the new discipline, particularly those who had been there since the foundation and thus had a fair experience of scarcity and hardship. They had slept on hurdles of rosemary twigs, they had passed whole days without taking hot food, satisfied with bread and fruit, sometimes with greenstuff only. Above all, there was the hair-shirt worn continually and the long hours of prayer, with no distinction between day and night. There had been a friar who spent eighteen consecutive hours in the oratory, another who had not left off his hair-shirt for a whole year.

Fray John was not going to do away with all practices of penance, but he was going to moderate their severity somewhat, at the same time developing a spirit of faith, love and confidence which those living at El Calvario had not previously known. As Fray Brocardo who was living there at this time when Fray John was prior said, 'The bed continued to be a mat without anything to cover oneself with, except the habit each one had with him.' Fray John himself slept upon handfuls of rosemary twigs interwoven with vine-shoots in the form of a hurdle. When he came to use a flat board covered with a mat, he removed the mat and slept upon the bare board. The main meal often consisted of crumbs of bread in Andalusian style with a bowl of broth made from wild herbs. On feast-days some spoonfuls of chick-peas and a little oil were added to the dish of herbs. At times the herbs were so bitter that they had to press them when half cooked, crushing them upon a board before finally throwing them into the pot. At one time, for a whole month they had nothing but this one dish of 'bitters', as the friars called these herbs. Brother Alonso, who was cook, had recourse to their donkey to recognize those which were poisonous. Those which the donkey ate, he gathered for the community, sure that if they did not make the animal ill, they would not be harmful to the friars.

On occasions they even came to lack bread. One day when the

bell was rung for dinner and the friars came into the refectory, Fray John noticed that no bread had been put on the tables and asked the reason. They told him it was because there was none. He ordered them to look for a small piece, and when a tiny crust was found, put it on the table, blessed it and exhorted the friars to bear their poverty with joy, for that was what they had come to seek in religion, to imitate Christ. When he had finished speaking, they got up from table without having eaten a mouthful and retired to their cells. Two hours later, the brother porter, Fray Brocardo de San Pedro, brought the prior a letter. A man who had come up as far as the monastery on a horse had just brought it. Fray John began to read it and tears came into his eyes. The porter, dismayed, thought that it brought bad news and asked the prior what it was. 'I am weeping, brother,' replied Fray John, 'because our Lord considers us so weak that we cannot bear this day's abstinence for long, since he is already sending us our dinner.' The letter announced the sending of more than a bushel of baked bread and a similar quantity of flour. The consignment arrived soon afterwards. That same evening a servant stopped at the door of the monastery with two steeds. He was in the service of doña Felipa, wife of don Andrés Ortega Cabrio, the parents of a future Discalced Carmelite friar, Fray Fernando de la Madre de Dios. He came from Ubeda with a load of provisions for the friars. The Ortega Cabrio family had made the gift knowing absolutely nothing of the pressing need the friars of El Calvario were suffering. The latter considered the circumstance a miracle.[15]

About ten days afterwards, Cristóbal de la Higuera came up to El Calvario. He was a good friend of the Discalced fathers and a devoted admirer of the holiness of Fray John of the Cross.[16] A townsman of Ubeda, he was in the habit of asking for alms for the friars among his fellow-citizens. On this occasion he came to consult the prior. It was night-time and Fray John gave orders that he should be given supper, at which Padre Pedro de la Madre de Dios kept him company. During the meal, Fray Diego, the brother who was serving him, said to Don Cristóbal, 'Eat well, your honour, for this is still food from the miracle of our father, Fray John of the Cross.' They then told him what had occurred the day they found themselves without bread.[17]

Fray John, who loved the natural beauties surrounding the monastery, liked to take his religious out into the open country. Sometimes this was to make their prayer in common among the

high hills and the woods, on other occasions that they might enjoy the sight of the flourishing vines, the sowing of the crops and the *huerta*.[18]

When they went out to make their prayer, instead of reading a point of meditation in the book, Fray John, sitting among them on the mountainside, spoke to them of the marvels of creation which were before their very eyes in all their splendour, of the beauty of nature, the reflection of the divine beauty that could be discerned in the flowers and in the crystal-clear waters that, as they flowed by, splashed their bare feet, or again in the little birds which might be singing on the top of the next tree in the light of the sun which was so bright there. . . . Then he told them to separate for their prayer, scattering themselves over the mountainside and seeking a retired place among the trees by a spring or a solitary seat upon a crag.

At other times he took them out for work in the fields. They tilled the earth, picked fruit, sowed corn, gathered grapes for the vintage. Year after year from one plantation of fig-trees alone they gathered more than thirty measures of figs. One day when they were gathering plums a friar asked his companion, 'Would you eat a plum?' 'No brother, for into that plum the devil would enter', and they did not touch them. Another day, however, when they were again gathering plums, one friar was tempted and ate one by stealth. This was Padre Fray Luis de San Jerónimo. Later his conscience pricked him and in the evening after their frugal collation Fray Luis came out into the centre of the refectory and confessed his fault publicly as if it were a crime. The prior rebuked him. It was an act hitherto never known there, a real scandal for the community which had never before experienced acts of gluttony and disobedience. Fray John imposed a penance on him.[19]

The friars of El Calvario, however, did not only go out to make their prayers or to work. Fray John, who was very human and fond of his community, on occasion took them out for a walk so that they might enjoy themselves, have a light collation and relax. He even allowed certain secular persons, friends and benefactors of the monastery, to go with them. One day two gentlemen from Ubeda came up to El Calvario. They were Cristóbal de la Higuera and Juan de Cuéllar, who liked to spend short periods of recreation with the Discalced friars. This time they brought some delicacies to enjoy with them at collation in the open air.

Fray John of the Cross came out with them and gave permission for the friars' collation and recreation, although he himself did not share the simple picnic meal. Only when some prelate of higher rank was present did Cristóbal de la Higuera succeed in getting Fray John to share in the good things he had brought to eat.

The prior was the first, on the other hand, in the most lowly tasks. Cristóbal de la Higuera sometimes caught him by surprise in the kitchen washing up the dishes in the large earthenware bowls. When he afterwards commented in talking to the friars on the Prior's humility they told him that he was always the first to set to work on such tasks.

On other occasions he could be seen at recreation times carving small images and crucifixes of wood with a lancet point, a reminder of those boyhood days in Medina del Campo, when he was trying to learn the carver's trade. Unfortunately there is no trace of any of these small images carved by Fray John. All there is is one diminutive skull, of bone, which the Carmelite nuns of Velez Málaga have preserved and which is believed to be the saint's work. If it is genuine — and there is no evidence against it — his contemporaries did not exaggerate when they said that he was a most skilful carver, for this is certainly of exquisite workmanship. Fray John was never lacking in courtesy and attention to the monastery's good secular friends, particularly to Cristóbal de la Higuera, Juan de Cuéllar and Diego Navarro. Cristóbal had already acquired a certain intimacy with the Prior. He frequently came to see him, consulted him about his business and went to confession to him — frequently in his cell. He even ate in the refectory and afterwards went out for walks with Fray John and his friars. Sometimes Juan de Cuéllar and Diego Navarro, who were also townsfolk of Ubeda, came with him. Navarro was a silversmith, full of repentance for certain aberrations of his youth. He found that Fray John gave him comfort. There were occasions on which, when the three were talking with the prior of the Discalced fathers, the latter would remain abstracted, paying no attention to the conversation, but absorbed, his eyes raised to heaven. Then the three friends, silent through reverence, would remove their hats and respectfully withdraw, leaving him in that attitude. Afterwards, when Cristóbal de la Higuera asked the friars who were present 'how that abstraction of Fray John's had ended', they answered that great things had

happened. At other times they heard him speak of his imprisonment with a smile on his lips, rejoicing at the hardship he had suffered and saying that he wished to suffer more than that for the love of God, for he deserved many more hardships for the sins he had committed against his Divine Majesty.

Apart from the government of his community, two principal occupations filled the days of Fray John of the Cross at El Calvario — his acting as confessor to the nuns at Beas and the editing of some of his writings.

We have already seen the complaint of Madre Ana de Jesús, prioress of the Discalced nuns, to Madre Teresa. When she wrote to her immediately after Fray John's visit, lamenting the lack of a suitable confessor, she also related how the young Discalced father had dared to refer to her — the Mother Foundress — as 'my daughter'. Madre Teresa replied from Ávila:

> I am really surprised, daughter, at your complaining so unreasonably, when you have Padre Fray John of the Cross with you, who is a divine, heavenly man. I can tell you, daughter, that since he went away I have found no one like him in all Castile nor anyone who inspires people with so much fervour on the way to heaven. You would not believe how solitary his absence makes me feel. You should reflect that you have a great treasure in that holy man, and all those in the convent should see him and open their souls to him, when they will see what great good they get and will find themselves to have made great progress in spirituality and perfection, for our Lord has given him a special grace for this.
>
> I can assure you I should very much like to have Fray John of the Cross here, for he is indeed the father of my soul, and one of those whom it does me most good to have dealings with. I hope you and your daughters will talk to him with the utmost frankness, for I assure you you can talk to him as you would to me, and you and they will find great satisfaction, for he is very spiritual and of great experience and learning. Those who were brought up on his teaching miss him greatly here. Give thanks to God who has arranged that he should be near you. I am writing to tell him to look after you and I know that in his great kindness he will do so whenever the need arises.

The reply was crushing. To Madre Ana's surprise that Fray John should call the Mother Foundress 'my daughter', the latter replied saying, 'Fray John of the Cross, *who is indeed the father of my soul*'; and answering the complaint of the lack of a director she said, 'there is no one like him in all Castile', where great

theologians abounded who knew the Madre so well, and 'he is very spiritual and of great experience and learning'; in short, a director of the highest ability.

We do not know what St Teresa wrote on the same occasion to Fray John of the Cross when she asked him to look after the nuns at Beas, but we may take it as certain that the letter reached him, for he began to carry out what the Madre had asked him to do.

Every Saturday he walked over to Beas. He wore his penitential habit of coarse rough frieze, frayed and ragged. When he left El Calvario, he turned north-eastwards in search of the Cuerda de la Raya, climbed the southern slope of the mountain, a slope more than three miles in length, until he reached the summit which was covered with trees. The view from the top was magnificent. The southern slope was behind him. Farther away were the outlying spurs of the Cazorla Sierra while in between lay the picturesque valley of the Guadalquivir. In front was the open plain of the Guadalimar, cut off in the distance by the Chiclana Sierra, and below, almost at his feet, the houses of Beas, white, tiny and clustering together by the river like a flock of sheep at the drinking-trough. Fray John came down a rough winding track facing north bordered with trees and bushes at its beginning, afterwards over bare, rust-red earth. It was more than three miles long. He crossed the river, and after a few more yards reached the little convent of the Discalced nuns which backed on to the parish church.

The confessions began the same day, Saturday, and continued on the Sunday. Fray John was not content, like the confessor who had preceded him, with getting all the confessions over in half an hour. He exercised a real spiritual ministry. He was never in a hurry. He doubtless thought that the business of the perfection of souls was too important not to give it all the time necessary. The nuns, who had heard the prioress read Madre Teresa's letter, in which she praised Fray John so much, were soon convinced that their holy Foundress was not exaggerating. Right from the beginning the prior of El Calvario showed equal charity and kindness to all. He made no distinctions, and firmly excluded anything in the way of childish presents from his penitents. The nuns became aware of this and found it praiseworthy. For this reason all esteemed and loved him equally.

They keenly enjoyed listening to him. When they knew he was going to speak, they hastened to leave everything — some

moment of leisure, recreation, even a last mouthful in the refectory — in order not to lose his conversation. It seemed to them they were listening to a seraphim; they felt their hearts burn within them when they heard his words. Sometimes he read them a book of devotion, which he then explained; on other occasions it was his comments on the Gospel that delighted them.

He adapted himself in everything to the needs of each religious. One day, Sister Catalina de la Cruz, the cook, a candid and simple soul, asked him why when she went near a pool of water they had in the garden, the frogs that were on the brink leapt into the water almost before they could hear the sound of her footsteps and hid themselves in the depths of the pool. Fray John told her it was because that was the place and centre where they were in security. There they defended and preserved themselves. He immediately pointed out the spiritual application of this. 'That is what you must do', he said to her; 'flee from creatures and plunge into the depth and centre, which is God, hiding yourself in him.' Fray John never forgot this conversation with the naïve cook. When afterwards in Baeza or Granada he wrote to his nuns in Beas, giving them advice for their spiritual progress, he still recalled with amusement: 'And our Sister Catalina, who hides herself and goes down to the depths?'

On other occasions it was he who asked them, 'In what does prayer consist?' — a question he put one day to Francisca de la Madre de Dios. 'In looking at the beauty of God and rejoicing that he has it,' replied the nun. Fray John, delighted with this thought, began to speak in a wonderful way about uncreated beauty, which was then his favourite subject for days on end, terminating in the composition of the last five verses of his *Spiritual Canticle* begun in the Toledo prison:

Let us rejoice, Beloved,
And let us go to see in thy beauty
The mountain and the hill,
Where the pure water flows;
Let us penetrate more deeply into darkness.

And then to the lofty
Caverns of stone we will go,
Which are well hidden,
And there we will enter,
And taste the must of pomegranates. . . .

Some nuns took the trouble to copy on a piece of paper the oral teachings of Fray John of the Cross. Both Catalina de Cristo, who gradually produced a book two fingers thick, and Magdalena del Espíritu Santo did this. From what the latter has transmitted to us — nothing has come down to us from Sister Catalina — we can see that they were faithful copyists. One has only to read these counsels copied by Madre Magdalena, to recognize that they are to be found almost literally in the *Ascent of Mount Carmel:*

> I [wrote the Madre] was trying to note down some [of his words] to refresh myself by reading them when, through his absence, I could not talk to him, but they took the papers from me without giving me an opportunity to copy them — they only left what I put here: 'He who works for God through pure love, not only does it not matter to him that men should know it, but he does not even do it that God should know it, and even were His Majesty never to know it, he would not fail to render the same services and with the same joy and love.'
>
> Another [counsel] for overcoming the appetites: 'Have a general desire of imitating Jesus Christ in all his works, in conformity with his life, about which we must think in order to know how to imitate it and behave in all things as he would have done. In order to be able to do this, it is necessary to renounce any appetite or taste which is not purely for the glory of God and remain in a kind of void for love of him who in this life had no more and wanted no more than to do the will of his Father, which he called his meat and drink.'
>
> 'To mortify the four natural passions, which are *joy*, *sadness*, *fear* and *hope*, try the following: strive to bend yourself not to what is easiest, but most difficult; not to what is most pleasurable, but most disagreeable; not to tend towards what is most restful, but most laborious; not to consolation, but to what is not consolation; not to the more, but the less; not to what is highest and most precious, but to what is lowest and most despised; not to seeking something, but to seeking nothing ; not to go seeking the best of things, but the worst; and in all there is in the world, to bear nakedness, emptiness and poverty for Jesus Christ.'

It was in this way that Fray John spoke to the nuns at Beas — discourses full of spiritual strength, without flattery or complacency when it was a question of purifying the soul.

Behind the discourses lay the practice of detachment and small hidden mortifications. One day, in the presence of Fray John, the nuns were talking about the coming feast-days, on which they would be able to receive Communion. There were days on which they had to ask special permission from the prioress to do so; on

other days the matter was regulated by the Rule. Sister Catalina de San Alberto, who had a great devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, mentioned one of the latter days, saying very determinedly, 'That day, Communion is certain; among us, it will be sufficient to ask leave.' Fray John heard what she said and appeared to take no notice. When the day referred to by the sister came round, she presented herself at the small Communion grille but Fray John did not move and did not give her Communion. Catalina de San Alberto withdrew and others came up. Fray John gave them Holy Communion. Sister Catalina knelt down again and again. Fray John did not give her Communion. This happened three times, until all the rest had communicated. Sister Catalina, who had said that 'that day Communion was certain', remained without it. When the nuns afterwards asked the reason why their confessor had treated the sister in this way, the saint replied, 'I did it so that she may understand that it is so much more than she imagined.'[20]

To his oral teaching Fray John added instruction in writing. Frequently, before returning to his monastery at El Calvario, Fray John left the nuns written sentences, in the form of individual notes for each religious, to serve them as direction posts and stimulate them in his absence. These they affectionately kept and preserved. Among these maxims and sentences, he one day left them a sketch of a mountain, Mount Carmel, the symbol and synthesis of his teaching of abnegation and detachment. He made one for each nun — it could thus be kept in the breviary. We possess an exact copy of the one he made for Magdalena del Espíritu Santo. At the foot of the sketch he wrote — 'For my daughter, Magdalene.' It is a drawing that looks like his primitive sketch. Heavy straight lines indicate three roads — in the centre the path of perfection which goes straight up to the summit. On it Fray John wrote: 'Path of Mount Carmel: spirit of perfection; nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing, and on the mountain, nothing.' On the left was the path of imperfection. On it we read: 'Path of the spirit of imperfection: glory of heaven, joy, knowledge, consolation, rest.' At the side was a short line written vertically: 'Even if you do not want it, take it all without wanting.' On the right was another path of imperfection. On it Fray John had written: 'Path of the spirit of imperfection: possession, joy, knowledge, comfort and rest on earth.' At the side was this line 'When you least want it — take it all without

wanting.' Above, distributed over the top of the mountain, he set the fruits of the Holy Spirit: 'Peace, joy, happiness, delight, piety, charity, fortitude, justice, wisdom'; and on the summit itself, adorned with the biblical text: *Introduxi vos in terram Carmeli ut comedaretis fructum eius et optima illius*, this line: 'Alone dwells on this mountain honour and glory of God.' On each side there were these sentences: 'Nothing gives me glory, nothing gives me pain.' Finally, right at the top of all, this inscription: 'Here there is no path, since for the just there is no law.' Below, serving as a basis and foundation to the mystical mountain, he wrote in small but clear letters these lines which sum up his doctrine of purification:

To come to taste everything,
Do not seek to taste anything:
To come to know everything,
Do not seek to know anything;
To come to possess all things,
Do not seek to possess anything;
To come to be all things,
Do not seek to be anything;
To come to what you do not taste,
You have to go where you do not taste.
To come to what you do not know,
You have to go where you do not know.
To come to possess what you do not possess,
You have to go where you do not possess;
To come to where you are not,
You have to go where you are not.
When you notice something,
Cease to throw yourself at everything.
To come from all to all,
You have to leave all for all.
And when you come to have all,
You have to have it without wanting anything.

In this nakedness the spirit finds rest, for, since it covets nothing, nothing fatigues it by straining it upwards and nothing presses it downwards, for it is in the centre of its humility.

Another day, as if he wanted to soften the impression of these austere aphorisms, he left the nuns the little notebook containing his poems, which are the expression of the beautiful and attrac-

tive part of his system of mysticism, as the symbol of the positive element of transforming light where all the negations proclaimed with so much exigence in the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* will end. The little notebook contained the verses and the *coplas* on, 'How well I know the fountain which flows and runs' and the eighteen strophes of the Spiritual Canticle. Magdalena del Espíritu Santo undertook to make some copies. It seems that the nun perceived the beauties and the deep meaning of those wonderful lines and dared to ask Fray John if those words which contained and threw light on so much were given him by God. 'Daughter,' he replied, 'sometimes they came to me from God and at other times I sought them.'

The time that his office of spiritual director left him free in Beas, he spent in arranging the altars in the church, in working as a mason, setting up partition walls and laying bricks on the floor of the cells, or in pulling up weeds from the nun's garden. His companion, when he brought one — often it was Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz — helped him or otherwise the nuns did.

During one of these weekly visits to Beas, two Discalced priors arrived — from Granada and La Peñuela respectively. They must have been Fray Francisco de la Concepción, prior of the latter house, and Francisco de Jesús or Alonso de la Madre de Díos (of Pastrana). Both were priors of Granada during the years Fray John was at El Calvario. They had been with him at the Almodóvar Chapter and, at the instance of Fray John, both signed, as did all those attending the Chapter, the authorizations for the fathers sent to Rome to negotiate the separation of the provinces. Sitting in the nuns' parlour, the three of them now commented on recent events unpleasant for the Reform. The two priors regretted having signed the document. They considered the commission given useless and worse than useless — prejudicial and compromising for all the signatories. This was the opinion of almost all the Discalced fathers. They were disconsolate and despondent. Fray John, however, gave them fresh courage: 'Fathers, God made us sign it as he made St Peter cast the net into the sea. It will be like that now, they will bring back very good guarantees for us and great fruit will come of it.' We do not know what credit the two priors gave to Fray John's words, but events gave them the value of prophecy, for whereas the first attempt entrusted to Padre Pedro de los Ángeles failed, the matter was brought to a happy issue by Juan

de Jesús Roca and Diego de la Trinidad, who obtained the separation of the provinces, so much desired by Madre Teresa and the Discalced fathers.

When Monday came, Fray John considered his work at Beas finished and returned to El Calvario. He went on foot as he had come. He had to climb the bare, northern slope of the hill which was on the other side of the river, and, always turning his back on the town, scale the summit, crowned with rocks and trees. Then he came down the southern slope, smiling and picturesque, overlooking the Guadalquivir, until he reached his monastery. There his humble little cell; with its tiny window opened to let in the clear fragrant mountain air, was waiting for him. It was a poor cell, its only furniture a hurdle with some straw raised but a little way above the ground, a cross, a print of the Blessed Virgin on the wall, a skull upon the table, his discipline and one or two books.

Apart from these weekly journeys to Beas, Fray John did not go out much while he was at El Calvario, only in some exceptional case when he was required for the spiritual needs of some one or other of the neighbouring villages. Thus we know that on one occasion he went to Iznatoraf, a hamlet about ten miles to the north-west of El Calvario. Perched on a high limestone hill, almost perfectly conical in shape, it had the name and the appearance of a Moorish village. A winding stony path which passed through the eastern part of the place, along the way the prior of El Calvario had to come, led to the houses which, looked at from below, seemed to be a crown of stone set around the walls. Fray John came to exorcise a possessed person. They had told him of the case and begged him to free the victim from the torments to which he was subjected by the spirit of evil. Fray John — the man of small stature — felt no reluctance at leaving his retreat. Two friars accompanied him, and the men who had come to El Calvario to fetch him. When they arrived at the top of the hill they entered Iznatoraf, and found the possessed man. The latter, when he saw Fray John, cried out — 'Now we have another Basil on earth who will persecute us.' Fray John exorcised him, leaving him free and completely cured.

On one of these journeys the following incident took place. Fray John was walking along, accompanied by Fray Brocardo. As they came near a village, a woman of loose morals stepped in front of Fray John, offered him food and shelter and said, making

lascivious gestures, that she would like to have him with her for a night. He rebuked her. He would rather have a devil from hell as companion than her, he said, as he shook her off and continued on his way.

II

RECTOR OF BAEZA

In the geographical centre of the province of Jaén, perched on a high hill to the right of the Guadalquivir, coming down to the river Guadalimar in terraces, with a long esplanade to the north, stands Baeza. In the days of which we are writing, it was a rich and populous city. It had fifty thousand inhabitants and numerous industries — silks, wools, steel weapons and dyes. The best of its fine woollen textiles would find a home in the new markets in America. With its flourishing university, it was the cultural centre of Andalusia. Surrounded by walls and massive towers, it contained many traces of the recent Moslem domination in its Arab buildings with their typical Moorish double-arched windows. There, too, were the mansions of the Spanish nobility, with their stone escutcheons and armorial bearings on the façades. The town had as many as nineteen parishes. Outside the walls many moriscos, who were not expelled until the beginning of the seventeenth century, were living.[1]

Fray John of the Cross walked along its narrow streets in the spring of 1579. He had come from El Calvario to look for a house in which to found the first college of the Discalced friars in Andalusia, a foundation which the Doctors of the university themselves, admiring the life which the Discalced were leading in La Peñuela and El Calvario, were asking for with insistence. The importance of such a foundation was constantly urged by Doctors Carlebal, Diego Pérez, and Ojeda and by Padre Nuñez Marcelo, disciples of John of Ávila, the great apostle of Andalusia. Fray John already had the permission of the Order which the Visitor, Fray Ángel de Salazar, had given without difficulty. He also had the authorization of the bishop of Jaén, don Francisco de Grado, and he brought letters of recommendation from the prioress of the Carmelites of Beas, Ana de Jesús, who wrote to 'persons of importance, both ecclesiastical and lay'.

He had already found a house which cost one thousand eight hundred ducats, of which Diego del Moral lent him four hundred. It was a town house inside the walls, not far from the university and some five hundred paces to the south-east of the Puerta de Ubeda, of which even to-day a tall, massive tower of dark ochre-coloured stone still remains. It had one large room which could be converted into a chapel and some small rooms which would serve as cells for the friars.

Once the problem of the house was settled, Fray John went back to El Calvario. There he collected together the things that were indispensable for the new foundation. The nuns of Beas helped him, giving him 'vestments from the sacristy and other essential things'. Fray John received them with a smile on his lips, expressing his thanks in a few sincere and expressive words. He chose three friars for the foundation — Inocencio de San Andrés, Juan de Santa Ana and Fray Pedro de San Hilarión, the latter not yet a priest[2] — and on 13 June, with their poor possessions stacked upon a donkey, they set out for Baeza. They went on foot, each carrying his stick. Fray John was filled with heavenly joy, reflecting that what they were going to do was in the Lord's service. They came down over the southern slope of the hill, making their way towards the bank of the Guadalquivir and bearing to the right, following the path of the sun. The distance was more than thirty miles, almost always over broken ground, intercepted by mounds and barren hills, though there were some tilled fields and vines, and with the distant view to their left of the outlying spurs of the Sierra Cazorta.

Night had fallen when they reached Baeza. The presence of the Discalced friars passed unnoticed. Fray John and his three companions silently prepared the altar in the large room which they converted into an oratory and hung a small bell from a window. When they rang it for Mass on the following morning, the neighbours came out of the surrounding houses surprised. Among them were Agustín, a youth who afterwards took the habit, and Juana de Arjona, a girl of fifteen, who lived in one of the houses opposite and ran out to see what novelty the little bell hanging from the window might announce. As she went in, she met Fray John of the Cross who was pulling down the partition wall of the room which had been converted into a chapel. Juana de Arjona and other neighbours helped him to clean the room and in a short time the first Mass was celebrated. It was the feast of the Most

Holy Trinity. Fray John, who had so much devotion to this feast, must have felt specially moved when he celebrated the holy Sacrifice on such a day and for the first time in that primitive monastery of Discalced friars.

Two more friars arrived in time for the opening of the foundation — Fray Francisco de la Concepción, prior of La Peñuela, Fray John's companion at the Almodóvar Chapter and on his journey to Andalusia, and Padre Juan de Jesús, who was called 'the saint'. It is uncertain whether they were already in Baeza when the founders arrived from El Calvario. All that is known is that they were present at the opening and had come from La Peñuela. Thus there were five Discalced friars there, in addition to Fray John of the Cross. After the opening, Padre Francisco de la Concepción returned to his monastery, while Padre Juan de Jesús remained to form part of the new community which was constituted by six friars: Fray John of the Cross, Rector; Fray Gaspar de San Pedro, Vice-Rector (it is not known when he arrived);[3] Padres Juan de Jesús, Inocencio de San Andrés and Juan de Santa Ana, conventual friars; and Brother Pedro de San Hilarión, a choir-brother but not a priest.

Some of the friars' good friends who had so much desired the foundation came up to the small, improvised monastery on this same feast of the Trinity — the Doctors Carlebal, Diego Pérez and Ojeda, with Padre Nuñez Marcelo. They visited the chapel and the cells. In the latter they observed that even the indispensable bed-clothes were missing, but they went away without saying anything. At night-time there was a knock at the door. Fray John sent Padre Inocencio to answer it, and on his return from receiving the message he told the Rector that Padre Nuñez Marcelo had sent some mattresses for the friars. Fray John told him to thank him in his name for the kindness he had done them, but he could not accept anything. Padre Inocencio did so, and the Discalced friars continued to sleep on the ground.

They were not, however, going to sleep in peace even this night. They had already retired to their cells; Fray John of the Cross and Fray Juan de Santa Ana were occupying two low and tiny rooms separated by another empty cell between them. They had hardly lain down to rest when strange noises began to be heard in the intermediate cell. Fray Juan de Santa Ana was alarmed, as the Rector, who also heard the noises, suspected. He got up and lighted a candle, called to his companion and asked if

he was afraid. Fray Juan de Santa Ana said that he was to some extent and the Rector made him move to his own cell. There he assured him that they were fairies and that there was nothing to fear, even though the mysterious noises should be repeated. He put out the candle and they remained in silence. The noises came again. This time they were sounds of cups and jars being broken noisily. The following morning, however, when they went in search of the broken crockery they found not a single broken cup or jar. Perhaps there were none in the monastery, even unbroken. Padre Juan de Santa Ana maintained that the noises went on for a whole week — that the 'fairies' threw Fray John of the Cross off his feet one night when he was coming out of his cell, throwing him to the ground, but that afterwards they did not trouble him again. This was a house that had the reputation in Baeza of being haunted before the Discalced friars went there.

After some time — the exact date is not known — when the tiny monastery was enlarged and put into order, novices from La Peñuela and El Calvario arrived and the foundation began to take on something of the character and category of a college. It was the first college the Discalced Carmelites had in Andalusia. Fray John of the Cross, who was experienced as to the requirements of their studies, through having been first a student at Salamanca University and then Rector of the college at Alcalá, organized the studies. It seems that in the beginning they were limited to theology in which, for want of their own professors, they followed the courses in the university. We have been fortunate enough to come across the names of the first students, who were Fray Pedro de San Hilarión, the choir-brother whom we have seen arriving at the foundation with Fray John of the Cross from El Calvario, and Fray Gerardo, a virtuous youth, who was to die still a student with the reputation of sanctity, even in the opinion of Fray John of the Cross who later said of him that he had reached the prayer of quiet. The third student was Fray Alonso, who was the first to receive the habit in Baeza, and the fourth, Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz, also a novice at the college.

The university adjoined the north-west gate of the city wall, at the corner closed in by the Barbudo gate with its Arab barbican. Founded in 1540 by Rodrigo López and John of Ávila, it consisted at this time of a small square patio with columns of stone, supporting on the architrave an upper cloister of identical pro-

portions to the patio. Around the patio and the corridor were the lecture halls, small ones, with small doors.[4] Without being able to compete with those of Salamanca and Alcalá, the University of Baeza had acquired exceptional prestige. Philosophy, theology and what to-day are called the humanities were taught in it. John of Ávila had attributed the greatest importance to these preliminary studies, as may be seen from the number of students matriculating. In the year 1580, the first academic year during which the Discalced students had the possibility of pursuing their studies there, Doctor Becerra, one of those who were soon to come to the monastery to consult Fray John of the Cross, was Rector of the university, and seventeen professors, eighty-nine theologians, forty-seven logicians, sixty-three students of the *summulae* and two hundred and twenty-three for lesser and minor studies, signed the matriculation register. In the following year, 1581, Doctor Pedro de Ojeda, again a great friend of the Discalced friars, was Rector.

The presence of the young Carmelite friars in the university evoked a feeling of sympathy and admiration among professors and students. The Rector himself urged the students to embrace the Discalced life and many students came to ask for the habit. The Discalced friars knew how to conserve this veneration by an exemplary life of virtue, penance and recollection. They were seldom seen in the streets. There were times when for as much as twenty days or even a whole month, they did not leave their house. The people said that they could only be seen at the altar and they called them saints.

What principally contributed to this was the prestige of Fray John of the Cross, for it was he who initiated and maintained the life. Professors and students came to the Discalced friars' College of San Basilio,[5] to consult its saintly Rector, and they spent whole hours with him. Fray John explained the Scriptures to them, spoke to them of theology, of the mysteries of the faith — the wonderful pages of the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* on the nature of this theological virtue will be remembered — and when they left the college, Padre Inocencio de San Andrés heard Doctors Ojeda, Becerra and Sepúlveda expressing their admiration for Fray John's explanations — 'What a deep man he is!' There was one doctor in particular, who had for years had the Chair of Logic, who frequently came to consult him about difficult passages in sacred Scripture, and although he himself was con-

stantly handling the works of St John Chrysostom and St Augustine he found Fray John's explanations so satisfactory, so new and so exact that they seemed to him to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit. Doctor Carlebal and Padre Nuñez Marcelo also consulted and were directed by him.

Of the students of the university who consulted him, it has been possible to ascertain the names of five. One was Francisco Hernández, who was to be called among the Discalced friars Francisco de Jesús Indigno. He was a fervent apostolic young student — a disciple of John of Ávila — beside himself with love for the Blessed Sacrament, who plucked the harp and danced for joy in the processions as David did before the Ark. He was favoured with ecstasies and raptures and became a missionary in the Congo and a counsellor of kings.[6] The other four were Juan de San Pablo, a native of Castellar who had already studied law in Salamanca; Luis de San Ángelo, a future novice of Fray John in the monastery of Granada; José de la Madre de Dios who was to be diffinitor of Andalusia and holder of the Scripture Chair in the monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza and whom Fray John sent to take the habit in the monastery of El Calvario; and, lastly, Sebastián de San Hilario.

One detail is known about Juan de San Pablo, the law student from Salamanca. Having been received to the habit in the college at Baeza by Fray John of the Cross himself, he began his novitiate. A little bored by the spiritual books he had in his cell, he asked the master of novices for some book on law to revise what he had learnt in the University of Salamanca. The master consulted the Rector and Fray John of the Cross, who realized the spirit of self-sufficiency which underlay this attitude, took all the books of devotion away from him and gave him a primer of Christian doctrine and a pointer (often a twig), such as is given to children to help them to spell out words letter by letter, so that he should practise prayer every day. The novice obeyed and his cell companion, Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz, saw him spend long periods of time, like a little child, with the pointer in one hand and the primer in the other, shedding tears of devotion and tenderness, for God rewarded his humility and obedience, filling his soul with spiritual sweetness.[7] In this way Fray John cured the first shoots of pride in the jurist of Salamanca. Another account assures us that in addition 'he put him in the kitchen for a good part of the year, and made him undergo various mortifications'.

Fray Juan de San Pablo turned out to be a first-class Discalced friar. He eventually became Provincial of Old Castile.

Having now got together some students, the Rector organized academic functions in the College of San Basilio, similar to those he had seen in Salamanca and Alcalá. These took the form of public discussions about theological matters. Besides the religious in the college, many professors of the university came. Fray John of the Cross, as Rector, presided over the function, directed the discussions, argued out and solved difficulties. The doctors who heard him were amazed at his 'sharp and pretty wit', for in summing up the arguments — said an eye-witness — he drew distinctions and gave solutions which caused admiration in the learned.

This intellectual activity did not prevent him from attending to the most humble needs of the house. He was the first at community acts — the first, also, at sweeping, washing up, adorning the altars in the church, for he liked them very clean and tastefully decorated. He concerned himself with the work of enlarging the monastery, and for the decoration of the church sent for Juan de Vera, a painter and sculptor of Ubeda. On many an occasion while the artist was working, Fray John was at his side. It will be remembered that he had been an enthusiast for painting and sculpture ever since his Medina days, when as a boy he practised the trades of carver and painter. Often when the work was finished, Fray John invited the artist to dine with him in the friars' refectory.

One day some people from the town came to the monastery to arrange for Masses which they wanted said on fixed dates. The friars already had commitments for these dates, and Fray John told them that if they wanted their Masses on other days they could be said, but not on the dates they were asking for. One of the fathers said to him that 'since for the next four days they had nobody who could say them, and they needed the offering, why did he not accept them, since one day more or less did not matter'. 'My office', replied Fray John, 'is to deal honestly and deceive nobody, and it is God's part to give us what is necessary when it is lacking.' He refused the offering.

This uprightness on the part of the Superior, however, did not lose him the confidence and affection of his subjects. Every day when the meal was over, they had their hour's recreation. Instead of keeping away from Fray John, the friars gathered round

him, listened to his discourse, sometimes spiritual, sometimes of ordinary things and for relaxation, and afterwards said with delight how pleasant it had been. Those who, because they had served at first table, remained to eat at the second, left part of their food unfinished to come out at the earliest possible moment to listen to the Rector, because it seemed to them that he spoke like an angel.

One occupation which he specially loved took up a good part of his day — looking after the sick. He frequently spent time at their bedsides, looked after them, comforted them, even spoiled them. If the sick friar had no appetite, Fray John would ask him what he would like to eat. He patiently mentioned everything which he thought might possibly tempt the appetite, until he happened on something the patient liked, when he ordered it to be brought him at once. It mattered not in the least if it happened to be something difficult to obtain — for the sick he spared no expense, even if it were a matter of medicines which, according to the doctors, would not cure the patient. For Fray John it was sufficient to know that they might afford him some relief. This happened in the case of a lay-brother, already declared past recovery, whom all were sure was going to die. The poor patient had terrible vomitings which caused him extraordinary suffering. Fray John asked the doctor if there were no efficacious remedy. 'To cure him, no', replied the doctor, 'all that there is is a remedy that would relieve him a little.' It was a drink that would come very expensive — costing as much as sixty reals or six ducats. Fray John asked for the prescription, sent out for it immediately and gave it to the sick lay-brother himself with affection.

When the illness was serious he arranged for all the friars to take turns hour by hour in keeping watch by the patient. He would get up at midnight or at two in the morning to perform this office or to see how the patient was. The first occasion was, perhaps, that of Fray Gerardo, one of the first two students who had begun to follow the course of studies in the university. He was suffering from a virulent fever. The intense and continual fever having made him delirious, the young and virtuous friar was saying and doing most peculiar things. The Father Rector gave orders that he was not to be left alone for a moment. When Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz, likewise a student, was keeping vigil, the patient tried to get out of bed, saying that 'there was a bride there

and that it was no place for him to be'. He was, however, a religious of much virtue and it was sufficient for the infirmarian to tell him that obedience ordered him to remain in bed. Delirious as he was, he obeyed immediately and became quiet. At other times he did not want to eat. They told him it was the will of the Superior and he ate.

One night Padre Inocencio de San Andrés, Fray Juan's companion in the founding of the college, was watching at the sick man's bedside. About three o'clock in the morning, when he had spent the whole night in vigil, tiredness overcame him and he fell asleep. The patient took advantage of the father's lapse into unconsciousness, got out of bed, put on his habit and knelt at the foot of the bed. At this moment Fray John of the Cross, who had got up as usual to see how the poor student was, arrived to find the infirmarian asleep and the patient on his knees on the floor. The Rector was deeply grieved at this and rebuked Padre Inocencio sternly but at the same time calmly for his neglect because of the harm it might do the patient.

Fray John had not always what was necessary for looking after the sick as he would have liked, but he had an absolute confidence that God would provide it. In the year 1580 a virulent influenza epidemic, almost as devastating and widespread as the plague, wrought havoc over the whole of Spain. Even Madre Teresa suffered from the effects of it and it laid her prostrate in the convent of Valladolid. Fray John of the Cross went to Beas, and while he was there the epidemic broke out in the college of Baeza. He set out immediately, passed the monastery of El Calvario without stopping, and when he got to Baeza found all his friars ill — eighteen of them were in bed. The first step he took was to send for a joint of meat. He had it dressed and cooked and himself served it to the sick, encouraged them to eat, and, if necessary, ordered them to do so. At times he spoke to them of spiritual things, at other times of ordinary matters or of things to entertain them. The patients even heard him tell amusing stories. So that they should not be scandalized, he told them that all that was necessary for the relief of their sickness.

At the same time, nine more patients arrived from El Calvario. There were no longer mattresses or bed-linen. The procurator hastened to tell the Rector and asked his permission to go out and try to get what was necessary from the monastery's benefactors. Fray John, however, refused, saying in prophetic tones 'God will

provide.' Without any steps at all having been taken, people arrived at the monastery door with twenty-four or twenty-five mattresses, a quantity of pillows and sheets and some cotton shifts. They were given to Fray Martín de la Asunción who was infirmarian. After the bed-clothes, came food. Teresa de Ibros, a penitent of Fray John of the Cross, to whom we shall refer later, saw the sick men arrive from El Calvario, realized the need they must be in, for she knew how poor the community was and had brought from Ibros, the next village nearly two miles to the north of Baeza, thirty chickens for the patients. Fray John, who noted the friars' amazement at all these mattresses, blankets, sheets, pillows and chickens, said to them affectionately, 'You see how good it is always to trust our Lord.'

One thing, however, upset him. On his return from Beas he found that a lay-brother had been taken to the Hospital de la Concepción. All knew that the Vice-Rector had done this with the desire that the patient should be better cared for, for the hospital had resources which were lacking in the monastery. Fray John did not take that view. He reproved the Vice-Rector, ordered them to bring back the lay-brother immediately and himself looked after, cured and served the patient as if he had been the General of the Order.

The epidemic continued to spread and turned Baeza into an immense hospital. There were families who counted the sick by dozens, among them that of the parents of the lay-brother Fray Martín de la Asunción, infirmarian of the College of San Basilio. Sixteen sick people were lying in the different rooms of the house — his parents, brothers and sisters, the servants. All were seriously ill, eleven had received the last sacraments. Fray Martín was sorrowful and obviously in deep distress. The Rector, who was very fond of him, one day carried him off to visit them. Fray John cheered them, read the Gospels to them, put his hand on them and blessed them and returned to the monastery. On the way back, noticing Fray Martín's expression of trouble and preoccupation — he could not forget that sad scene in his home, everyone ill and all so seriously — Fray John of the Cross assured him that none of his household would die of that sickness. 'Who has told you so?' asked the lay-brother naïvely. 'He who can bring it about,' replied Fray John. Things happened as he said.

At other times he went out to visit the sick in the hospital. These were the rare occasions when he was seen in the street. The

townsfolk of Baeza noticed him. He could not, however, go out unobserved. He had to cross the town, going down in a south-westerly direction, near the great tower of Aliatares, a magnificent remnant of the ancient fortifications of the city.[8]

One sad event, which could not fail to bring Fray John of the Cross keen suffering, took place in Castile while he was looking after the sick and those suffering from the epidemic in Andalusia — the death of his mother, Catalina Álvarez. She was another victim of the influenza epidemic, dying in Medina del Campo, where she was living with her eldest son, Francisco de Yepes. He looked after her, saw that she was brought the last sacraments, which the good woman received with much devotion, and tenderly closed her eyes. The exact day of her death is not known, only that she died in that year, 1580. The Discalced Carmelite nuns of Medina, with whom she was on terms of familiar friendship ever since Madre Teresa charged them to help and look after her, gave her burial in their own church, firmly believing that they were receiving the body of a holy person.[9]

Some years later her youngest son, Fray John, was to see her resplendent in glory, surrounded by the children of Francisco de Yepes.

12

GUIDE OF SOULS

An extraordinary atmosphere of devotion was present in Baeza and there was keen rivalry among the nineteen parishes. It was not only the women who felt a deep interest in the life of the spirit, the men rivalled them in pious practices and in religious observance. The chief contributing factor to this was the work which had been carried out by Master John of Ávila by means of the schools he set up for teaching religion even to those most ignorant, together with the solid development of spirituality among the clergy who continued his labours and succeeded by their life and unceasing apostolate in bringing about a fundamental reform of morals in the whole neighbourhood. The women, without abandoning the world — for their state of life did not permit of this — gave themselves up to a life of penance, prayer and recollection as if they were nuns. Some of them formed pious associations and wore their habit in the streets. Extraordinary manifestations, even, took place. One day, María Flores, a rich and beautiful girl whom many young men hoped to win as bride, felt herself touched by the spirit of God, put on a rough frieze garment next to the skin, wore sandals made of esparto fibre on her feet, covered her head with a veil of thin drab silk and, putting a great cross on her shoulders and carrying a sewing needle in her fingers, went out crying in the market-place to the astonishment of the people, 'Long live the poverty of Jesus Christ!' She distributed her riches among the poor and retired to live in a house which eventually became a convent.

The Discalced friars could hardly remain aloof from this trend. Despite the pre-eminently contemplative and retired life they professed, which in La Peñuela and El Calvario earned them the reputation for sanctity which they enjoyed throughout the region, people came to them in search of spiritual teaching and direction.

Fray John, the greatest contemplative of them all, felt not the slightest scruple at devoting himself to this work of the apostolate, as he had done without scruple at Ávila and Duruelo and was to do again later at Granada and Segovia.

The Carmelite church, like all the Baeza churches, was full of people who went there to go to confession. Fray John of the Cross gave orders that confessors were not to leave their confessionals unattended. They were there morning and evening, but even this was not sufficient for the people who came. Fray John set the example himself. We have seen how he liked to have the church very clean and well-decorated — even bringing a painter from Ubeda to decorate it. He attended his confessional assiduously. Persons of all kinds, from the Rector and professors of the university to humble and unlettered shepherds' wives, entered it in turn. All came with the same desire of receiving his advice and readjusting their lives according to it. He attended to all without distinction of persons and with equal interest.

The names of the Doctors to whom Fray John acted as spiritual director are already known: Becerra, Carlebal, Sepúlveda, Diego Pérez, Ojeda, Padre Nuñez Marcelo. . . . In him they found all that any man who was both learned and spiritual could desire in a director — deep learning and virtue made perfect. We already know, too, the names of certain university students whose confessor he was — Juan de San Pablo, the Salamanca jurist; Luis de San Ángelo, José de la Madre de Dios, Sebastián de San Hilario. . . . The fruit of this direction was shown in the life led by the professors and by the fact that the students ended their course by taking the habit — all became Discalced Carmelites, outstanding in religious virtue.

His direction of women was no less remarkable. There was a group of devout women living under the rules given to them by the saintly Rector of the Discalced fathers. We already know the name of one of them — Teresa de Ibros. We have seen her bringing thirty chickens to the convent the year of the influenza epidemic. A shepherd's wife and a countrywoman, she reached such a high point in virtue and in the life of prayer that she had visions, revelations and raptures so numerous that Padre Gracián, who examined her, declared both that they were true and that a whole book could be filled with the account of them. They called her familiarly Madre Teresa and she died with the reputation of being a saint.

María Vilches, the widow of Hernando de la Peñuela, was considered one of the most exemplary women of those times. She wore a habit, was called Madre Peñuela, doubtless on account of her husband's surname, and was considered as the mother of the nuns in the city, on account of the considerable help and protection she gave them. She was persecuted by the devil. He threw her to the ground at the door of the Carmelite church, leaving her senseless and so rooted to the ground that no human strength could lift her from it. Many persons came forward to lift her up, but to no purpose 'and it seemed to this witness that two yoke of oxen would not be able to pull her away'. Juana de Arjona, who was trying to help, ran to tell Fray John of the Cross. He came from the monastery to the door of the church where Madre Peñuela had fallen, and then, without the Rector of the Discalced friars saying a word, she got up of her own accord and was left altogether free of the devil. They did not fail to have recourse to Fray John on other occasions. If the poor woman was riveted to the ground at the church door, Fray John consecrated a host for her during the Mass he was saying and, when the Mass was over, went out to the door with the Blessed Sacrament, gave her Communion where she was, and Madre Peñuela recovered her liberty. The devil's persecution, however, was not limited to these cases. The holy woman was tormented by him almost uninterruptedly and consulted Fray John about it. The latter gave her a discipline with which to take bodily penance whenever she felt herself persecuted by the evil spirit, and no other remedy was needed.

One day Fray John was celebrating the Holy Sacrifice and Madre Peñuela was present. When the moment of the celebrant's Communion arrived, Fray John, having received the Precious Blood, remained lost in prayer, with the chalice in his hand. When he returned to himself, having lost the notion of time and of what had happened, he picked up the corporals and retired from the altar, taking the Mass as finished. As he was going to the sacristy, Madre Peñuela, who was kneeling where he would pass, pulled him discreetly by the chasuble and said to him, 'Who is to finish this Mass? Let the angels come and finish it.' A father had to accompany him to the altar, telling him what was wanting for the completion of the Holy Sacrifice, for Fray John was still lost in prayer for a time, although less deeply.

Another devoted penitent of the holy Rector of the Discalced

friars was Juana de Arjona. We have already met her. It was Juana who surprised Fray John pulling down a partition wall to make the chapel on the day of the foundation and who helped him to clean it so that the first Mass could be said that day, 14 June, the feast of the Most Holy Trinity. From that moment in the full youthfulness of her eighteen years she placed herself under Fray John's direction and eventually became a 'beata'. At sixty she still recalled, deeply moved, the time at which she first knew the saint and the work of spiritual perfection which he carried out among his penitents.

María de la Paz, another penitent, was but a girl of sixteen. She had a lively wit and an observant mind. She went to confession to Fray John and also went to discuss the affairs of her soul with him three days in the week — Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays. This continued for the space of about three years, the whole time her director was in Baeza. Before placing herself under his direction, the girl had some hesitation — the modest bearing of the Rector of the Discalced friars disconcerted her. Like St Teresa, she had a liking for learned confessors and had difficulty in making up her mind to place her soul in the hands of Fray John, in spite of his reputation for sanctity, because she did not think him a learned man. Under this impression and with these hesitations, she one day approached his confessional. Before she began to speak, Fray John of the Cross said to her — 'Daughter, I am learned for my sins.' The young penitent, slightly perturbed, tried to dissimulate and asked why he said that. 'Daughter,' replied the confessor, 'you needed to hear it and that was why I said it.' From that time onwards she gave herself up to his direction without reserve. She was amazed at his holiness. In spite of the long time she had known him, she gave evidence on oath that she had never heard an idle word from him or seen in him a gesture of imperfection.

Fray John had the attention and delicacy of a saint in her regard. One day he was in the confessional and María de la Paz, inwardly much disturbed, was torturing her spirit by turning over scrupulous thoughts in her mind in a corner of the church. The Rector sent another woman to fetch her and, to calm her, heard her confession first. On another occasion, perhaps not liking to trouble her director so many times, she came with the intention of going to confession to another friar. She did not want the sacristan to know this, doubtless because he knew her and might

tell Fray John. Going into the sacristy she told the brother that a lady wanted to go to confession to such and such a father. The sacristan went to tell the father concerned, but Fray John called him saying, 'Tell that woman she has no need of confession; she should go home.' The brother carried out the Rector's instructions and María de la Paz went away marvelling at the fact that without even seeing her Fray John had known her thought, intention and the state of her soul.

The young penitent was to live until the age of more than sixty, wholly given to an intensive life of piety in the condition and habit of a 'beata'.[1]

Justa de la Paz, a child of little more than fifteen,[2] had heard María Vilches talking about the marvellous holiness and direction of the Rector of the Discalced friars. She did not know him and felt some curiosity to see the holy man. She was among those who were regularly present at Mass in the Carmelite church. One day she saw a friar coming out to say Mass. From the way he said it, her heart told her that that was Fray John and she asked those who were by her side. When they told her that this was so, the girl felt an extraordinary joy of soul with a strange desire to better her life in the service of God. It is not known, however, whether she came to be his penitent.[3]

On the other hand, we know that he directed doña Juana de Calancha, who years later was to testify to the holiness of her director, and that he gave the beata's habit to some of his penitents,[4] as was the case for Bernardina de Robles, a native of Baeza and daughter of Hernando Martínez and Elena de Robles, who later became a Discalced Carmelite, taking the name of Bernardina de Jesús.[5]

Hand in hand with this direction of specially chosen souls went cases of conversion of disordered lives. A gentleman of Baeza, who was a relative of Brother Martín de la Asunción, the porter and sacristan of the monastery, was a man of irregular life. One day he came to Fray Martín and asked him to find him a gentle confessor — he wanted to make his peace with God. The porter told Fray John, saying something about the life of this relative of his and the Rector offered to hear his confession himself. He went down to the confessional and the gentleman went in. We do not know what Fray John said to him, but from then onwards he was frequently to be seen talking with the Rector at any time of the day, because he found his teaching so delightful. He even came

to participate in the exercises of meditation and of penance which were practised in the monastery, and finally decided on a radical change of life — of life and of dress. He asked permission to divest himself of his fine clothes and his sword, to put on the coarse frieze. Fray John, however, would not allow this. A life of prayer and holiness — said his director, but without quitting the dress and the arms which his social position demanded.

Another day it was a young man called Domingo de Soto-mayor. He was present in the Carmelite church when Fray John was saying Mass. When the Holy Sacrifice was ended, Sotomayor noticed a certain wondrous glory about Fray John which penetrated his very soul. An irresistible interior emotion took possession of him and he came out of the church determined to abandon the world. In a short time Domingo de Sotomayor was wearing the black and white livery of the Order of Preachers.

From the intensity of this atmosphere of piety in which Baeza was living, there developed, as always happens, a kind of miracle-working illuminism. This was particularly the case among the beatas. Those who, instead of practising genuine piety, exhibited extraordinary manifestations which always ended in the grotesque, were many — some through foolish desires to be considered holy and others through proved diabolical influences.

Juana Calancha was a beata with a high reputation for sanctity.[6] She was credited with miracles, revelations and raptures. Eventually she asked to enter with the Discalced Carmelites of Beas as a lay-sister and Padre Gracián agreed. She had hardly arrived at the convent when she began to fall into raptures. Madre Ana de Jesús, who was prioress, said to her one day, 'Sister, here we don't need your raptures, but that you should wash the dishes well.' One night shortly afterwards, about eleven o'clock, Sister Catalina de Jesús, the cook — the nun whom Fray John of the Cross often reminded of the incident of the frogs who hid at the bottom of the pool when they heard her passing by — heard a voice saying to her, 'Watch, it is very important to watch.' Listening attentively, she heard confused and unintelligible voices at Juana Calancha's window. She took her little lamp, which was lighted, and went to the cell of this nun, who was subject to ecstasies. An unbearable stench drove her backwards. On the mattress Juana, entirely without covering and in an unbecoming posture, said that she was with Jesus Christ.

Sister Catalina exclaimed, 'Sister, it is the devil who has deceived you and does not allow you to tell your confessors the truth.' The visionary resisted. She asserted that from the time she was a child of seven, a very beautiful boy, who grew up with her, began to accompany her. When they were both thirteen the youth told her that he wanted to marry her and live in the state of matrimony with her, but she must tell nobody, not even her confessors, because he was Jesus Christ. As a proof of it he was favouring her with visions, revelations and miracles. It was not easy to dissuade the deluded woman from her abominable intercourse with the devil. Even after leaving the convent, she persisted for many years in her attitude, and the Inquisition of Murcia had to intervene. Having renounced her error, she walked in a public *auto* with a black candle in her hand, received a hundred lashes as she went through the streets and was threatened with burning alive if she relapsed.

We do not know fully the part that Fray John took in this incident. None of his biographers refers to it. We think, however, that we have succeeded in discovering a certain contact between the Rector of Baeza and the deluded Juana de Calancha. It is certainly an incident which occurred during the time he was Rector, since Madre Ana de Jesús was prioress of Beas at the time and she ceased to be so at the same time that Fray John ceased to be Rector. It is also clear that the friars of the Carmelite monastery were concerned in the matter. It was at their instance that Padre Gracián agreed that Juana should be given the habit in Beas. It would appear that Fray John of the Cross was one of those who, taken in by the apparent virtue of Juana Calancha, insisted that she should be given the habit. Padre Eliseo de los Mártires, of whom P. Gracián says that he intervened successfully in the case of the deluded women of Baeza at this time, was a subject of Fray John of the Cross. Referring to the holy Rector, he declared:

> Speaking of those who heard the confessions of women, as a person of experience in the matter, he said that the friars should be somewhat aloof in their dealings with them, for softness with women served no purpose but to bring out affection and turned out to be unprofitable. He added that God had punished him for this by hiding from him a very serious sin of one woman who had deceived him for a long time, and because he was kind to her, the remedy could not come from him; although 'the Lord arranged things in such a way that her deception

was discovered in our Order by another means, as I have sufficient reason to know'. (*Dictámenes de espiritu*, dict. X. *Obras*, apéndice.)

It seems unquestionable that this case of the woman with the very serious sin, which was eventually discovered in the Order and which Eliseo knew all about, was the case of Juana Calancha, as we have heard it related by Padre Gracián. Fray John of the Cross, the beata's director, did not succeed in discovering the deception. The saint looked upon this as a punishment from God for the softness with which he had treated her. It is a strange case, unique in his life, which was so rich in the discernment of spirits, even on occasions when the theologians of Salamanca failed — as happened with the possessed Augustinian nun of Ávila — and Fray Luis de Granada was unsuccessful, as in the case of the nun of Lisbon which we shall relate.

On the other hand, in another similar, although less serious case, he reacted quickly. This was a beata — we do not know her name — who feigned a rapture in the Carmelite church while Fray John was celebrating the Holy Sacrifice. The people pressed around the visionary, who gesticulated, turned up her eyes, and remained in ecstasy as if insensible to all that was going on around her. Fray John, who noticed what was happening, called Fray Martín de la Asunción who was assisting him at Mass and said to him: 'Take this Communion vessel and throw the water from it into the face of that woman.' The brother sacristan did as he was asked. He took the vessel by the handle and on going to throw it at the ecstatic, it fell from his fingers and he was left with the handle only. The woman, who had been acting as if she did not see, stretched out her hand quickly on seeing that the vessel was going to fall on her face and thrust it to one side. The people understood the deception and laughed. Nothing more was necessary; the beata, overwhelmed with confusion, covered her face, went out and did not again appear in the friars' church.

The most intense and certainly most fruitful spiritual direction exercised by the Father Rector was that of the Discalced nuns at Beas. They had obtained that he should continue to be their confessor even after leaving El Calvario. The fact that the distance would be ten times greater did not matter. Instead of going there every week as he had done up to that time, he was now to go every fortnight or every month, as his occupations permitted. Because he went less frequently, he made the length of his visits

longer. He did not go alone but was always accompanied by a friar from Baeza, sometimes a lay-brother, sometimes a father. On one of the earliest occasions, perhaps the first, a few days after the opening of the Baeza house, Padre Juan de Santa Ana accompanied him. On other occasions it was Padre Gaspar de San Pedro, the first Vice-Rector. Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz, the student, and future prior of Córdoba, also often made that long journey to accompany Fray John: Ubeda, Torreperogil, Villacarrillo, Iznatoraf, Villanueva del Arzobispo. . . . They frequently made a détour to visit El Calvario. We learn that they went on foot and carried sticks. On another occasion, when Brother Gabriel de la Madre de Dios, a lay-brother from Baeza, was accompanying Fray John, they took a small donkey. Fray John, however, made the brother mount while he went on foot. The confessor of the Discalced nuns tried to entertain his travelling companion so that the way should seem less long. At times they talked of God, at other times they recited hymns and psalms. Fray John also sang songs which he had composed — Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz who was with him assures us of this. Brother Gabriel said that on one occasion he made the journey so pleasant that he did not notice the length of the way.

We already know what Fray John did in Beas — he heard confessions, preached sermons, gave direction and carefully looked after the nuns in every way. In fact, he merely continued the work he had begun during his period of office in El Calvario. At the times when this care of the Discalced nuns left him free, he went out with his companion and they climbed the small hill above the town. There he told him to go a little way off, so that they might each pray alone. Fray Jerónimo watched Fray John and saw that he remained looking at the river or at some spring; at other times he fixed his gaze on the flowers and grass and made his prayer in this manner.

One day, as the two of them were leaving the Carmelite convent which was still in course of erection, a tile fell from the house next to the church which was being put into order and struck Fray Jerónimo on the head. The blow was no small one, the tile was broken to pieces and the noise was so loud and sharp that Fray John thought that something had struck the stone at the side of the door. Fray Jerónimo, however, cried out in his alarm, 'O Father, it has broken my head!' Fray John turned round quickly, and rubbing the injured head with his hands said to him,

'There, it is nothing.' Fray Jerónimo no longer felt the least pain.

When Fray John's ministry to the Carmelite nuns was finished, both friars set out on the return journey to Baeza. Sometimes they made a détour to El Calvario, as on occasion they did when coming. On one occasion when Fray John's companion also happened to be Fray Jerónimo, as they were going up the hill which faces Beas and separates it from the Guadalquivir they met a big fierce dog which was rushing down in fury as if making directly for them. Fray Jerónimo was afraid, but without slackening his pace the Father Rector said to him — 'Don't be afraid.' When the animal was quite near, he stretched out his arm gently, put his hand on the dog's head and, giving him a tap on the nose, said, 'Go! go back!' As if in obedience to Fray John's voice, the animal turned round and quietly trotted off. They stopped some days at El Calvario. It is not surprising that Fray John should have felt an attraction for this delightful mountain district lapped by the waters of the Guadalquivir. It is a solitary place, yet bright and full of light, with sweet scents and colours in abundance, and it is not easy to tear oneself away from it. The Father Rector must have missed it very much in the constant bustle of the city. For this reason he doubtless took advantage of his journeys to and from Beas to enjoy it for a few days.

On one occasion when Fray John made this journey with Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz, he was walking with him through the lovely country. It was in the afternoon or early evening, perhaps at the time of the fullness of the spring flowering, when on these southern slopes the land seems unable to contain itself and bursts forth vigorously into leaf. Every tiny herb turns into a flower. When they came to a quiet spot, Fray John spoke for a few moments of the things of God and said to Fray Jerónimo, 'Go apart and praise our Lord.' Then, just as he did in Beas, he made his prayer surrounded by the woodland flowers, his eyes fixed on the bubbling water of a little stream which rippled down the hill in search of the Guadalquivir.

Back in Baeza again, he did not lose sight of his daughters in Beas. He wrote to them, sent them spiritual maxims, gave to each one of them the advice she needed for her interior life. Fray John knew them all by name, from the prioress down to the last of the lay-sisters. The letter each one received fitted her spiritual needs at that particular moment so well that the nuns were con-

vinced that even from a distance their confessor could see into the innermost recesses of their consciences.

He never forgot them. Even when he left Baeza and was living permanently in Granada or travelling all over Andalusia as Vicar-Provincial, his daughters at Beas were always in his mind. When he was late in writing to them, they took upon themselves to remind him of it, complaining that he had forgotten them. Fray John took up his pen and replied to them affectionately:

> May Jesus be in your souls, daughters. Do you think that, although you see me so silent, I have lost sight of you and am ceasing to observe how you can very easily become saints and how with much joy and security you can go forward in the delight of your beloved Spouse? I will go before you then, and you will see that I have not forgotten; we shall see the riches won in pure love and in the paths of eternal light with the beautiful steps which bring us to Christ, whose spouses are his delight and crown, a crown worthy of not lying about on the ground, but of being taken in the hands of the angels and seraphim and put on the head of our Lord with reverence and appreciation. . . .
>
> Serve God, my dear daughters in Christ, following in his steps of mortification with all patience, in all silence and with full wish to suffer, becoming executioners of [wordly] satisfactions, mortifying yourselves if by chance there is anything left to mortify that may prevent the interior resurrection of the spirit. May the Spirit dwell in your souls. Amen. — From Málaga, 18 November 1586. Your servant, Fray John of the Cross.

The Father Rector of Baeza, so kind to his subjects when ill or in difficulty, so careful to attend to the needs of his neighbour in the constant labours of the apostolate, was, however, uncompromising with their smallest irregularities. In this he made no distinction of persons, just as his care and solicitude were without distinction of persons. Padre Gaspar de San Pedro who served him in the government and ordering of the house, for he was Vice-Rector, was a wonderful preacher. He had often attracted attention in Baeza from the pulpit of the Discalced friars, that pulpit in which an old and mended white cloak of very coarse serge was placed as a pulpit-cloth — thus preaching before the preacher. Padre Gaspar was sought after in the towns and villages of the region. He preached in Ubeda with so much success that they then and there offered him the opportunity of a further sermon. Fray Gaspar accepted outright without consulting his Superior. When he returned to Baeza, and Fray John was informed of the

obligation he had incurred without the authorization of obedience, he refused his permission and sent another father to take his place. A few days later, Rector and Vice-Rector went to Beas together. While Fray John was hearing confessions, Padre Gaspar told the nuns in the parlour how much he felt the matter of the sermon at Ubeda. They afterwards told Fray John who said to them:

> It is better that he who preaches of his own will should not preach at all, for, even though he feels it, the mortification will do him more good. When this father or some other talks to you of such things, you should tell them what good fortune it is to be mortified in that way, so that we may make the practice of true mortification which there should be among us easy for one another.

On the other hand, he did not refuse to give pleasure to his friars, even though it should cost him the trouble of a journey, when there was no imperfect motive mixed with their desire. The fathers of the monastery of La Peñuela wanted to have him among them for a few days. To obtain this, they invited him to give the habit to a novice, Fray Francisco del Espíritu Santo. Fray John of the Cross went there, over hills and heights, crossing the Guadalimar, climbing the southern spurs of the Sierra Morena. His presence at the lonely monastery produced an extraordinary joy among the twenty odd friars who were living there. All, even the most venerable, 'some of a very high stage of prayer and proved virtue' looked upon him and listened to him as a superior being. All knew much of his sanctity. He gave the habit to the novice and spent some days there. On the last day in the afternoon, while he was walking with the friars in the garden, he noticed that the novice to whom he had given the habit was not well. Fray John looked at him attentively and assured him that he would be professed, but not this time. Thus it turned out. Fray Francisco fell sick and had to leave the monastery to go and be cured among his own people. Once recovered from his illness, however, he returned to the novitiate and made profession. Later on he was to meet Fray John in Madrid and to recall with affection how he made a journey to La Peñuela to give him the habit.[7]

This was not the only journey he made at this time. Sabiote is a town on the summit of a rocky hill nearly eighteen miles to the east of Baeza. It was then a walled town with a stone-built castle,

a church with three naves, and a recently constructed convent of Discalced nuns, founded in 1587. Fray John went there several times to hear their confessions. When he went there for a nun's profession, he took with him some friars to assist him in the office and ceremony of the profession. On one occasion, after the religious ceremony, there was a meal at which Fray John of the Cross and his friars were present. In accordance with the prescriptions of the Carmelite Rule, fish was served to them while the other guests ate meat. A dish of rice, however, was also offered to the Discalced friars. The server indicated that he did not know whether the rice had been cooked with meat fat. There was a discussion about it and Fray John decided 'In the case of doubt, it is better not to eat it', and they abstained. When ten years later, Fray John, then in his last illness, was gradually wasting away in the poor little cell at Ubeda, the nuns of Sabiote, grateful for his spiritual direction, sent him delicacies and white linen for his wounds.

Another convent of Discalced nuns also received a visit from the Rector of the College of Baeza — that of Caravaca. The prioress, Ana de San Alberto, wrote to Madre Teresa and explained to her the spiritual needs of one nun in the house. The Madre replied: 'I will try to get Padre Fray John of the Cross to go there. Talk to him as if he were myself. Speak to him openly of your souls. Derive all the consolation you can from him, for he is a soul to whom God communicates his spirit.' She then made representations to the Rector of Baeza that he should go there and when she knew that Fray John was prepared to go and was perhaps already on the way to Caravaca, she again wrote to the prioress: 'Daughter, Padre Fray John of the Cross is coming to you. Open your souls to him fully at the convent, as if it were I myself, for he has the spirit of our Lord.' It was a long journey of about a hundred miles across the sierras which divide Andalusia from the kingdom of Murcia. Fray John stayed some days in Caravaca. During his stay he solved the problems of the nun in need, heard the community's confessions and told them the story of his imprisonment in Toledo. This was not the only time that he was to visit this town in Murcia. Later, when he was Vicar-Provincial in Andalusia, he again visited Caravaca and intervened in various business of the nuns, defending them against harmful interference and rivalry from clergy and laity.

Madre Teresa, as will have been seen from these letters to

Madre Ana de San Alberto, continued to be enthusiastic over 'holy little Fray John'. This was not the only praise she gave him at this time. Some months later, in 1580, on her way to the foundation of Villanueva de la Jara, she and her nuns stopped at the Discalced monastery of La Roda. The conversation turned on Fray John of the Cross. The friars praised his virtue and showed the Mother Foundress some notes written by him on spiritual matters. Madre Teresa, overjoyed, commented in a prophetic tone, 'The bones of that little body will work miracles.'

In the constant and manifold activity to which his office as Rector of Baeza and his work as confessor and spiritual director of nuns and secular persons obliged him, Fray John found some days of rest at the farm of Santa Ana in the district of Castellar de Santisteban. It was a property situated about thirty-five miles to the north-east of Baeza. It had been given to the Discalced friars by a cleric of Castellar who by this time was dead. Fray John took charge of it in the name of the Baeza community and sent two fathers and two lay-brothers to put it into order. The fathers were Fray Juan de Jesús, known as 'the saint', and Fray Juan de Santa Ana, both, as we know, companions of Fray John of the Cross since the day of the foundation of the college at Baeza. We do not know the names of the lay-brothers, but one of them was probably Fray Juan de Santa Eufemia, judging by an incident which we shall relate farther on. When the property was put in order, P. Juan de Jesús returned to Baeza, P. Juan de Santa Ana remaining in charge of the new property, with the two lay-brothers who were to work it.

The property was not extensive nor was the ground well-cultivated. Situated on the right bank of the Guadalimar, it began on the top of a hill by Sorihuela which lies to the north and was, so to speak, half encircled by two hills which run almost parallel from north to south, sloping downwards until they come to an end before reaching the river. The little house, facing east, was halfway up the western hill, facing the hill opposite. Between the two, sloping gently downwards, with a small spring on the higher part, there was tillage land, narrow at the beginning, but then widening out until, having left the two hills behind, it was merged in the rich fertile plain on the right bank of the Guadalimar. On the other side of the river and away from its bank, the limestone peak of Iznatoraf rose up like a giant. It was crowned by small white houses and behind could be seen the classic hills, then

covered with oaks and low shrubs and to-day turned into olive plantations.

The narrow parts of the Santa Ana farm had rocky rust-red soil like the waters of the Guadalimar and produced only rock-roses and scrub. On the other hand, the piece of tillage land, watered by the spring, was suitable for vegetables and pasture ground. It was this land that was cultivated by the Discalced friars brought there by Fray John of the Cross. When the farm was acquired by the College of Baeza, the Rector visited it as Superior of the friars who were looking after it. The route he took was probably through Ubeda, Villacarrillo, Torreperogil, Iznatoraf. It was necessary to cross the Guadalimar by boat.

How many times Fray John went there is a matter for conjecture, but it is known that he did so on several occasions, and that he always stayed some days, usually the entire week. Perhaps he took advantage of the journeys he made to Beas to hear the nuns' confessions, making a halt either on the way there or back. Madre Teresa also passed that way going from Beas to the foundation of Seville, and the countryside delighted her so much that they had difficulty in tearing her away from those flowery groves full of little birds.

Fray John must have found great satisfaction in this atmosphere of peace, silence and beauty provided by the farm of Santa Ana. There was quiet solitude, the gentle sound of running water, vast horizons full of light, the fragrance of rock-roses, thyme and rosemary. It was certainly different from the atmosphere of Baeza. But Fray John, as usual, did not enjoy it alone. He took as companion P. Juan de Santa Ana who was acting as Superior of the house and went out with him over the fields and along the river banks. The Father Rector could not contain himself for joy and broke out into the singing of hymns. He and P. Juan did not content themselves with the hours of the day, but spent a good part of the night among the trees, or sitting in the meadow watered by the little spring from the orchard. From time to time one or the other would retire to pray alone; now and again Fray John of the Cross, getting up, would seek his companion and, as they both sat in the meadow in sight of the running water, would talk with him of the beauty of the firmament which at these hours of stars and glow-worms was full of light. They could not tire of it. Hours passed without their being aware of the fact. P. Juan de Santa Ana would warn Fray John that it was late and they must rest —

moreover the night dew might do them harm. . . . The Rector understood his companion's intention and said to him humorously, 'Let us go then, well and good, for I know that your reverence is longing to sleep.' They then returned to the improvised monastery.

Before returning to Baeza, he set apart the surplus vegetables to be taken back to the college, but the friars at the farm made some difficulty, saying that those vegetables were the slender reserves they had, so that they should not want necessities in that isolated place. Fray John of the Cross, however, smilingly told them that the friars of the Blessed Virgin had to be friars of trust in God rather than of plans and provisions. When in Baeza he did not lose sight of them, but wrote to them to cheer them. One day he learnt that Fray Juan de Santa Eufemia, one of the lay-brothers working at the farm, was suffering on account of a family misfortune. The Rector took up his pen and wrote him an affectionate letter. He gave him comfort, praised the merit of suffering and encouraged him to bear his trouble for the love of God. The lay-brother was deeply touched on reading the warm phrases which Fray John of the Cross's pen had traced on the yellowish paper.

Fray John of the Cross and Catalina de Jesús

In 1947 there came to light at the Carmel of Begoña (Bilbao) an autograph manuscript of St John of the Cross which had been missing for more than a century and which belonged to the Carmelite friars of Pamplona. P. Eduardo de Santa Teresita published it in 1948, reproducing it in its entirety in photostat. There are thirteen pages which have no special interest except that they are in the saint's handwriting. He copied the autobiography of the Ven. Madre Catalina de Jesús, who with her property founded the Carmelite monastery at Beas where she entered and spent the whole of her short religious life (1575–86) — the period at which St John of the Cross was in contact with this community. Madre Catalina was one of the most extraordinary Carmelites, and doubts were cast upon her spirit until the saint gave her his full approval. As Catalina died before St John of the Cross, she could not leave us any declaration about his direction, which would have been most interesting. In spite of this and although the author does not mention her in this work, primitive documents testify to their close friendship. In addition to the document of

which we write, Madre Magdalena del Espíritu Santo says: 'As soon as M. Catalina de Jesús, prioress of the convent of Beas, died, the holy Father came there and told some of us that at the hour of the Madre's death in Beas, he saw her in Caravaca and she told him to go to Beas for he was needed there.' (MS 5807, fo. 92 *v.*) The saint said the same to the messenger who brought him the news in Caravaca three days after Catalina's death (Id. fo. 194 *v*).

This MS 5807 consists of various accounts of distinguished nuns of the Reform but is chiefly concerned with Catalina de Jesús. There is news about the Saint underlined in the text and annotated in the margin by some ancient hand. (P. Silverio has a brief biographical account of M. Catalina in vol. VII of his *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, pp. 215–40. — *Editor's Note.*)

13

TWO JOURNEYS TO CASTILE

It was the summer of 1580. In the convents and monasteries of the Reform, there were rejoicings and festive gladness. They had just received the news that Gregory XIII had sent the Brief, dated 22 June, so long desired and for which they had worked so hard, dividing Calced and Discalced into separate provinces. This was the happy conclusion of a long and painful struggle which threatened the very existence of the Reform. Madre Teresa, now old and tired, suffering from the general influenza epidemic which had brought her to the point of death at the convent of Valladolid, felt her youth renewed on receiving the good news and could not tire of writing to her daughters to give thanks to the Lord. For twenty-five years she had gone on struggling and suffering to obtain this security for her work. On seeing her hopes realized, she felt 'one of the greatest joys and satisfactions that it is possible to receive in this life'. At this moment she thought of Philip II, 'our holy king', to whom as a matter of justice she attributed part of the success obtained, and she asked prayers for him; at the same time she asked from her daughters, as a return for the benefit received from God, an ever more perfect life.

The process had been long and complicated. From 30 August 1577, the day on which the nuncio Felipe Sega arrived at Madrid, the Reform had frequently been in danger of disappearing, absorbed by the long-established Observance. Sega arrived in Spain with information from one side only. He had no knowledge of the Discalced friars other than that given him in Rome by the Calced fathers of the chapter of Piacenza. For him, then, they were refractory, rebels, excommunicated. In consequence the nuncio came prepared to subject them to the obedience of the Order without a hearing. Accordingly he gave a free hand to Padre Tostado, representative in Spain for this matter of the General

of the Order, whom for so long the Royal Council and the previous nuncio, Ormaneto, had kept at bay.

The Discalced were alarmed. Gracián hastened to resign his office as Visitor — it had not come to an end with the death of Ormaneto — and retired to Alcalá and Pastrana. The houses of the Reform were disturbed. Some submitted; others, as was the case with Granada, put forward a protest which brought the matter before the Chancellery. The few Calced friars who had entered the Reform, changing their habit again, returned to the Observance and stirred up the fire. Some, like Baltasar de Jesús Nieto and Miguel de la Columna, went so far as to bring terrible accusations against Gracián and Madre Teresa's daughters.[1] The Madre appealed to the king in a courageous letter. The king submitted the matter to the Royal Council, with instructions to suspend Tostado's mandate. The latter brought a suit against the Council — and lost it. On 5 November 1577 he handed over the patents and withdrew, as if in defeat, but in reality awaiting a better opportunity, for he trusted in the favour of the nuncio. The latter suspended Gracián's office as Visitor by a Brief dated 23 July 1578, and the Discalced friars were then left under the immediate jurisdiction of the nuncio. This, however, was no more than a first step. The Madre who, with her nuns of St Joseph's, gave immediate obedience to Monsignor Sega, begged him not to place them in the hands of the Calced friars, because they knew that Tostado had come to destroy the Reform.

There was friction between the king and his Council, and the nuncio. While the latter took pains to support Tostado, Philip II and the Royal Council, after a most detailed examination of papers and documents, denied the nuncio's right to suspend Gracián as Visitor. The king gave orders to the Discalced friars that they should take back the patents from the Calced fathers who presented themselves to make the visitation, since the nuncio had not produced his authority for this. The Discalced friars, however, did not dare to do this and gave their obedience, while Gracián handed over to Sega's envoys in Pastrana the documents he held from the previous nuncio, Ormaneto, giving him authority to make visitations. Sega's response to this humble attitude on the part of the Discalced was to imprison Gracián, P. Ambrosio Mariano, Juan de Jesús Roca and P. Antonio de Jesús. When P. Roca succeeded in having an interview with the nuncio and spoke to him of the virtue of Madre Teresa, Foundress of the

Discalced, Sega cut him short calling the Madre 'a restless and vagabond woman, disobedient and contumacious, who, under the cover of devotion, invents evil doctrines'. After the first storm, there was a moment of calm. P. Roca put before the nuncio the fear the Discalced had of finding themselves subject to the Calced, with the natural danger of extinction, and Sega assured him: 'I give you my word that you will not be subjected to the Calced fathers.' When, however, it came to the nuncio's knowledge that by order of the Royal Council, his patents were being taken back, he believed this to be a ruse on the part of the Discalced and decided in revenge to put them completely under the Mitigation.[2]

An intervention on the part of the Conde de Tendilla in favour of the Reform provoked a complaint from the nuncio to the king which was a protest against what he considered interference with his rights. In this instance the king upheld the nuncio, but at the same time he said to him, 'I have been informed of the persecution which the Calced Carmelites are carrying out against the Discalced friars and nuns. I consider this suspect, since it is against people whose aim is that of austerity and perfection. Show yourself favourable to virtue, for they tell me you are certainly not helping the Discalced.' These words of Philip II were decisive. The nuncio asked that a kind of commission should be appointed to examine the problems of Calced and Discalced and the king nominated don Luis Manrique, his own chaplain, Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio, an Augustinian, Fray Hernando del Castillo and Fray Pedro Fernández, Dominicans. This was at the beginning of March 1579.

The first agreement the commission arrived at was that the nuncio should free the Discalced from the jurisdiction of the Fathers of the Observance to which he had subjected them, giving them a Vicar-General. The latter was to be Padre Ángel de Salazar, whom we already know. This decision did not please Monsignor Sega, but on 1 April he drew up the deed of appointment which ran:

> Desiring in our paternal affection the peace, quiet and spiritual profit of the said friars and nuns of primitive observance . . . it has seemed good to us to revoke, and by the apostolic authority we enjoy, we do by these present letters revoke, abrogate and annul the said submission of the friars and nuns of the primitive Rule to the obedience of the said Fathers of the Province.

He went on to appoint P. Ángel de Salazar as Vicar of the Discalced. With the letter came concrete instructions, signed by Manrique, Villavicencio, Castillo and Fernández, which formed the obverse of the resolutions passed at the General Chapter of Piacenza against the Reform of Madre Teresa. The Vicar could not change anything in the Rule or Constitutions of the Discalced friars and nuns. If he found anything so changed by the Fathers of the Observance it was to be restored. In his visitations he was to aim at peace, observance and the maintenance of recollection. Suitable novices were to be looked for so that the Reform should not die out. . . . The Visitor was not to intervene in the elections of the various houses. . . . The confessors of the nuns were not to be Calced fathers.

On 15 July the report was ready and was presented to the king. In substance it was the nuncio's *mea culpa* in respect of his previous attitude towards the Discalced.

> Having frequently heard discussion [it reads] as to whether it would be better for the Calced and Discalced religious to be all of one province or divided into separate provinces . . . submitting our opinion to that of your Majesty, it seemed to us, by common agreement and consent, that it would be better, for the service of God and for the increase of regular observance and the peace and tranquility of both the Reformed and the Mitigated religious, that your Majesty should ask and entreat his Holiness that he deign to order that all the Discalced friars and nuns who have made profession according to the primitive Rule of the said Order should form a province distinct from that of the Mitigated, whose territory should be that of Castile and Andalusia. The said province should be subject to the General of the Order, like the others, and be governed by a Discalced Provincial chosen by the province itself.

While Philip II was sending the petition to Gregory XIII and writing pressing letters in support to the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Regulars, the Congregation whose function it was to advise the Pope, two Discalced friars, Fray Juan de Jesús Roca and Fray Diego de la Trinidad, left with all urgency for Rome to negotiate the favourable expedition of the Brief. There were even attempts to frustrate it on the part of the General of the Order, who proposed, instead of the separation of provinces, alternate Calced and Discalced provincials within the same province. Philip II's proposal, however, triumphed and on

22 June 1580 Gregory XIII signed the long desired Brief of separation. It reached the king of Spain on 15 August in the frontier city of Badajoz, where he was making ready for his entry into Portugal as sovereign.

By this date, although the pontifical document had not reached Spain, the news of the granting of the Brief, circulated from Rome in particular by the two Discalced fathers who were there, had already spread. It reached Fray John of the Cross in Baeza on 5 August. His prediction had been fulfilled when, against the pessimism of the priors of Granada and La Peñuela, he affirmed the success of the two friars who had gone to Rome.

A further six months elapsed before the preparations for the execution of the Brief were complete. This was entrusted by the Pope to the Archbishop of Seville, don Cristóbal de Rojas y Sandoval. While, however, he was proceeding to carry out his mandate, he died in Cigales, in the province of Valladolid. The king asked Gregory XIII to commission Padre Pedro Fernández, the former Apostolic Visitor of the Carmelites, in his stead. When, however, P. Jerónimo Gracián went, at the king's orders, to hand him the documents of his mission, he found him at the point of death in the priory at Salamanca. This great Dominican, an outstanding supporter of the work of Madre Teresa, died on 22 November. The king again petitioned the Pope, this time asking him to appoint as executor of the Brief Padre Juan de las Cuevas, likewise a Dominican and prior of Talavera de la Reina. Gregory XIII granted the king's request and on 4 January 1581 the new papal document reached Spain. The Dominican was quickly informed of the appointment. Fray Juan de las Cuevas associated P. Gracián with his work. The latter drew up the convocations for the Chapter and on 1 February sent them to all the houses of the Reform. In accordance with the provisions of the Brief, a provincial Chapter of Discalced friars only was convened and was fixed for 3 March at Alcalá de Henares. One of the letters of convocation was for the Rector of Baeza.

The date on which Fray John set out for Alcalá is not known. He took as companion — each prior took his own companion, who had a vote and the right to speak at the Chapter — P. Inocencio de San Andrés, who was at this time Vice-Rector and, as we know, one of the three friars whom Fray John had brought from El Calvario to the foundation of Baeza. It was a long journey from the east of Andalusia to the heart of Castile. The entire

plain of La Mancha had to be crossed. They did not reach Alcalá until 4 March, already late, for on the 3rd the preliminary meeting had been held, with Padre Cuevas presiding, for the reading of the Brief of separation. In the report of this meeting, Fray John of the Cross is not mentioned. It is known that P. Antonio de Jesús, prior of Mancera, was not present either, but it is clear that this was on account of attending to some business for the Duchess of Alba, who demanded the presence of the venerable old man at her side. It is not known why Fray John of the Cross should have arrived late — whether some accident occurred on the journey, or whether there was a mistake in calculating the duration of the various stages. The chronicler of the Reform attributes the delay to the long journey he had to make, yet Fray Agustín de los Reyes and Fray Ángel de la Presentación, respectively prior and *socius* of Granada, had already arrived, though their journey was even longer. Moreover, the distance for the friars who came to the Chapter from El Calvario and La Peñuela, who also arrived in time, was not much shorter. When Fray John and his *socius* reached Alcalá the sessions had already begun and the separation of the Discalced province was an accomplished fact. It was coincidence that the two founders of Duruelo, Fray John of the Cross and Fray Antonio de Jesús, were to be absent from an act most important for the reform set on foot by them.

The Chapter consisted of the most outstanding of the Discalced friars. Gracián, Doria, Agustín de los Reyes, Antonio de Jesús, Eliseo de los Mártires, Juan de Jesús Roca, Elías de San Martín, Pedro de la Purificación, Gregorio Nacianceno, Gabriel de la Asunción, Blas de San Gregorio, Pedro de la Visitación, were there. . . . As many as twenty friars took part in the Chapter. In greater or lesser degree, all had borne the burden of the difficult days of the struggle, all had suffered persecution, many had been imprisoned, although none could show the same scars as Fray John of the Cross. In addition to the fathers of the Chapter, there were thirty friars in the College, some of them men of outstanding merit such as Ambrosio Mariano and Bartolomé de San Basilio. All these had been present at the preliminary reading of the Brief of separation on the 3rd.

The assembly of the Discalced fathers lent movement and the air of a great day to Alcalá. It was not a familiar occurrence. All the various bodies in the town came to take some share in it and

looked upon it as something of their own — the Council, the University Faculty, religious from all the Orders, the rector of the principal church, the magistrates, the students. . . . King Philip II paid all the expenses, which were to amount to about one hundred thousand maravedís. He had given orders that the function was to be carried out with the greatest possible splendour. At the preliminary session, presided over by Padre Cuevas, even secular persons such as the Marqués de Mudéjar, don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza who signed the deed, and his brother don Enrique, were present.

On the following day, which was 4 March and a Saturday, the Chapter properly so-called began with the Mass of the Holy Spirit. Padre Cuevas, the Apostolic Commissioner, sang it, assisted by P. Mariano and P. Blas de San Gregorio, prior of Altomira. When the Mass was finished, a student from the college, Fray Diego Evangelista, who later won sorry fame for his actions against Fray John of the Cross, declaimed a Latin discourse composed by P. Ambrosio Mariano, who was a first-class classical scholar. The discourse attracted attention both for its own excellence and for the quality of the student's declamation. The Chapter went into session immediately to proceed to the election of diffinitors. It was about half past nine in the morning. At eleven the election was finished. Those elected were P. Nicolás de Jesús María Doria, prior of Pastrana; P. Antonio de Jesús, prior of Mancera; P. John of the Cross, Rector of Baeza, and P. Gabriel de le Asunción, *socius* of La Roda. Immediately, without leaving the Chapter room, they proceeded to the election of the Provincial which, by the casting vote of P. Antonio de Jesús, fell to P. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios. The Te Deum was intoned and the fathers of the Chapter made their way to the church as they sang it. There they found 'no small concourse of people of the town' awaiting the result of the election.

That there should be a crowd of people was not surprising. Many of the fathers of the Chapter were well known in Alcalá — in particular, Padre Jerónimo, formerly one of the most brilliant students of the university, where he had taught Arts as a substitute for Maestro Ocáriz and Scripture as a substitute for Doctor Mendoza. Moreover he had spent three or four years exercising his apostolate with success in pulpit and confessional. He was thus known, loved and admired. So was Fray John of the Cross, the first Rector of that house Many must have known the

venerable figure of the humble Discalced friar whom they had so often seen in the streets in the days of the inception of the Carmelite College, which for the future, in memory of the day on which the Chapter was held, would be called the College of St Cyril.

The following day, Sunday, 5 March, a solemn procession was organized. The fifty-two Carmelite friars in their white cloaks took part, as did the whole of the university, which had been summoned to take the oath; the religious of every Order in Alcalá where there were many of them at this time; and the mayor with all the city council, magistrates and gentlemen of rank. The procession moved out of the Carmelite church. The band of musicians walked in front and in the centre, singing the litany, followed by the prebendaries of the principal church, Doctors De la Puente and Camara, wearing brocade copes. Close by were the singers from the collegiate church, who chanted the responses to the litany. P. Antonio de Jesús, who was going to sing the Mass, and PP. Diego de la Trinidad and Gregorio Nacianceno, who were assisting him, wore cope and dalmatics respectively.

As they were approaching the principal church the whole Chapter came out to receive them, headed by Doctor Ottadúy, canon and Scotus professor, who was wearing a cope. The Apostolic Visitor, Fray Juan de las Cuevas, and the recently elected Father Provincial, Fray Jerónimo Gracián, walked between the Rector of the university and the Marqués de Mudéjar. Near them, one on either side, were the mayor of the town and the curator of the university. The church of San Justo was thronged with people, making it difficult for the procession to enter. Mass was sung with full solemnity. Padre Gracián, whose eloquence was already well known in Alcalá, preached, and the procession returned to the Carmelite College with equal solemnity, to the chant of the Te Deum accompanied by instruments.

In the afternoon there were theological disputations which lasted from half past one until dusk. Padre Cuevas presided. P. Juan de la Madre de Dios, an Extremaduran, defended and numerous professors of the university were the opponents — Master Almonacir, Professor of Scripture; Doctor Ruiz, who held the Prima chair; Doctor Ottadúy, of the Scotus Chair; Garnica of the Vespers Chair; Andres Martínez, Durandus Professor; Doctor Diego López, Maestro Azor, a Jesuit — and others. The

academic function turned out brilliantly and made history in the annals of the University of Alcalá.

The Chapter of the Discalced friars lasted a week and a half. Constitutions for both friars and nuns were drawn up and signed on 15 March by the president, the Provincial and the diffinitors, Fray John of the Cross among them; decisions were given in the matter of the suggestions and indications which had reached the Chapter from the different houses of the Reform, commemoration was made of the deceased Discalced, various academic functions were held and the acts of the Chapter published. The Discalced friars did not forget Philip II. They knew what they owed to him, and in one of the first sessions they agreed to celebrate a Mass for him in perpetuity, to keep constant vigil before the Blessed Sacrament and to apply one of the three weekly disciplines prescribed by the Constitutions, reciting at the end the prayer for the sovereign — *Quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus rex noster Philippus, qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula. . . .* The resolution was signed by Fray John of the Cross.

On the 16th, Thursday, the Chapter was closed. The Father Commissioner took leave of the Discalced friars with an embrace. The Rector of the principal church came to the monastery to make up the account of the expenses incurred, which the king was going to defray — expenses which amounted to nearly one hundred thousand maravedís, and letters were sent to the General of the Order giving him an account of what had been done and asking for confirmation of the proceedings. The fathers of the Chapter then left Alcalá. Fray John of the Cross, third diffinitor and Rector of Baeza, with his *socius* started on the return journey to Andalusia.

The months he was to remain at the College of Baeza, however, were few. First of all he made a journey to Caravaca, which has been passed over in silence by the historians. It was at the end of June of this same year, 1581. He was commissioned by the Father Provincial to preside over the election to offices of the Discalced nuns. P. Gaspar de San Pedro, the former Vice-Rector, went with him. Fray John was already familiar with the long road of some hundred miles and more, for he had travelled it, as we have seen, at the instance of Madre Teresa, to relieve the spiritual worries of a nun.

As early as 28 June he was presiding over the elections in the parlour of St Joseph's convent. A document drawn up by Fray John himself gives us details of the proceedings —

Fray John of the Cross and the Sisters of San José of Caravaca, of the Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel of the primitive Rule. To our Very Reverend Father Fray Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios, Provincial of the said Order, health and the grace of the Holy Spirit.

I wish to inform your reverence that on 28 June 1581 the said Sisters of the above-mentioned convent having met together in their common meeting-place and the bell having been rung, as is ordered, to elect a prioress of the said convent, I, Fray John of the Cross presiding, by order of your reverence, with my *socius*, Fray Gaspar de San Pedro, the said election was proceeded with in the required juridical form and thirteen votes were cast, no one being either admitted or excluded unlawfully and against our sacred Constitutions, or showing themselves to be absolved by the apostolic favour from the responsibility of electing or being elected.

They received thirteen voting papers, one each, and wrote down their votes secretly, each writing her own, and folding them up placed them in the vessel that was there for this purpose according to the forms of the Holy Council of Trent. When we emptied the said vessel we found the same number of voting papers, thirteen, and written on them thirteen votes, one on each — of which Madre Teresa de Jesús had one; another was for Sister María de Jesús, a nun who at present is in the Beas convent; all the rest, that is, eleven, were for Madre Ana de San Alberto, who is at present Vicar of this convent of San José de Caravaca, and thus she was canonically elected at the first scrutiny. They therefore beseech your reverence that you would be good enough to appoint and confirm her as their spiritual mother and guide of their souls.

Then, in the same manner and on the same day and hour, we proceeded to the election of the sub-prioress for the said convent, and Sister Bárbara del Espíritu Santo, who has been sub-prioress for the past three years, was re-elected at the first scrutiny, for she had all the votes except one, which was for Sister Francisca de San José, nun of the same convent. They beseech your reverence that you approve her exercise of the said office.

Afterwards the election of the holders of the keys was made and each one wrote three names on her scrip. From the first scrutiny Sister Bárbara del Espíritu Santo was elected as first key-holder, for she had nine votes. Sister Juana de San Jerónimo, having another nine votes, was second key-holder, for she is junior to Sister Bárbara, and Sister Ana de le Encarnación, having another nine votes, is third key-holder, for she is junior to the other two.

In affirmation of which, I, the said Fray John of the Cross, and my companion, and the said sisters, sign with our names and seal with the common seal of Caravaca on 28 June 1581 — Fray Juan de la Cruz, Fray Gaspar de San Pedro, Ana de San Alberto....

Many of the nuns who were present and signed the document have left us interesting accounts of incidents in the life of Fray John, which they gathered from him on the different occasions when he visited the convent.

Five months later Fray John made another journey, longer and more complicated. It was a journey to Castile. The Vicar-Provincial of Andalusia, an office created at the Alcalá Chapter to which P. Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios had appointed P. Diego de la Trinidad, decided to make a foundation of Discalced nuns in Granada. Madre Ana de Jesús, whose office as prioress of Beas had come to an end four months earlier, was in charge of the matter. Padre Diego went there in October of the same year, 1581, to negotiate the necessary business for the foundation. He was a somewhat naïve man, and having little experience in such business believed it to be an easy matter. Fair words had been spoken to him in Granada and he thought that everything was already as good as done. Madre Ana, however, who was intelligent, realist and warned by experience, had her suspicions and wanted in particular to discuss the matter with the Rector of Baeza, who was her confessor. She sent for Fray John of the Cross.[3] The latter advised that they should proceed with the matter and preparations began to be made. The Father Provincial and Madre Teresa were written to. They cherished the desire and hope of persuading the holy Foundress to come and make the foundation personally. To achieve this it was thought there was no better way than for Fray John of the Cross to go to Ávila, where the Madre was. He would thus be able to transact the business with P. Gracián personally and could bring the Foundress and the nuns who were necessary for the new community back with him. For this the Vicar-Provincial drew up the following authorization:

> I order Padre Fray John of the Cross, Rector of the College of San Basilio in Baeza, under obedience to go to Ávila and to bring our very reverend and most religious Madre Teresa de Jesús, foundress of the Discalced Mothers, Prioress of St Joseph's at Ávila, to the foundation of Granada, with the comfort and care that her person and age demand, together with the other nuns who may be necessary for the said foundation. Given on Monday, the thirteenth day of November, in the year one thousand, five hundred and eighty-one.

A few days later — the exact date is not known — Fray John left

Beas with a companion and set out for Castile.[4] He carried letters from Ana de Jesús for P. Gracián and for Madre Teresa. He also took mounts and money for the journey, for he hoped to return with the foundress and the nuns. On the 28th he was already in Ávila, talking with the Madre in the small parlour of the convent of St Joseph.[5] No details have come down to us of the interview, which is the first the two Reformers had had since Fray John was imprisoned, at this time exactly four years ago.[6] We know from Madre Teresa's own account that the visit of the first of the Discalced friars gave her joy. 'I am so [happy] this evening with [the arrival of] a Father of the Order.'

The first decision taken, certainly before this interview of the evening of the 28th, was to send a messenger to Salamanca, where P. Gracián was organizing the foundation of the college of Discalced friars, to put the matter of Granada before him and ask him for the necessary authorizations. The Provincial's immediate response was an authorization for Madre Teresa to designate the nuns she thought suitable for the projected convent in Granada. The Madre chose two from Ávila — María de Cristo who had already been prioress, and Antonia del Espíritu Santo, one of the four who took the habit on the day of the foundation of the first convent;[7] two from Seville — María de Jesús and María de San Pablo; four from Beas — Ana de Jesús, Beatriz de San Miguel, Leonor Bautista and Lucía de San José. In addition she chose two lay-sisters from Villanueva de la Jara. She could not go herself, for she had an earlier and formal obligation to go to the Burgos foundation which was already in its initial stages. She decided to make Madre Ana de Jesús foundress of Granada.

Preparations were therefore made for Fray John's return with the two Ávila nuns. Madre Teresa gave him a letter for Ana de Jesús and patents for the nuns who were to form the new community. Before leaving, Fray John counted over the money he had, for he wanted to send something to P. Gracián for the cost of printing the Constitutions, which was being done in Salamanca. He had barely sufficient for the journey, however, and had to leave the matter, giving hope of sending something from Andalusia. The Madre accordingly wrote to Gracián on the following day: 'Fray John of the Cross would very much like to send your reverence some money and counted on doing so if he could get it out of what he brought for the journey, but he could not. I think he will try and send it to your reverence.'

On 29 November, Fray John, his companion and the two nuns left Ávila en route for Andalusia. Madre Teresa was sad. The two nuns who were going, particularly María de Cristo, were, on the other hand, very pleased. We know the itinerary they followed — Escalona, Toledo, Malagón, Beas. In Escalona, which was a walled town — where the great castle of don Álvaro de Luna flanked by huge towers, with its splendid view over the banks of the Alberche, was already in ruins — they saw the Marquesa de Villena and gave her a letter from the Mother Foundress. In Malagón, whose convent faced south but was situated to the north-west of the town, they collected Beatriz de Jesús, Madre Teresa's niece and a former nun of the Incarnation, the one who surprised the two saintly Reformers in the parlour, talking of the Trinity.[8]

They reached Beas on 8 December. When Ana de Jesús saw that they had arrived without Madre Teresa, she was disappointed. She had expected her. They brought her a letter from her, however, in which she said she would have liked to come if only to give her pleasure. God, however, had arranged things otherwise. She encouraged her to go forward with the foundation of Granada and assured her of its success.

They stayed on in Beas for an entire month, waiting for the Vicar-Provincial, who had gone to Granada to obtain the archbishop's authorization and to purchase the house, to advise them that they could set out on their journey. Days passed and the expected messenger did not arrive. Fray John of the Cross and Madre Ana decided to prepare everything so that they could start immediately they received an indication. On 13 January 1582 everything was ready for the journey. It was a Saturday. The news arrived in the afternoon. The Vicar-Provincial sent a message saying they could set out and now nothing could stop them, not even a terrible storm that broke out with such fury that it seemed that 'everyone was drowning in water and stones' as the Foundress herself said — or an illness which came upon Ana de Jesús and frightened the doctors. They prepared the mounts and on Monday the 15th at three o'clock in the morning they left Beas en route for Granada. There were seven nuns, Fray John of the Cross and Fray Pedro de los Ángeles.[9]

The roads, flooded by Saturday's storm, were impassable. The mules stuck in the mud and clay. The weather, however, was good. They halted for the first day's journey after twenty-eight miles, at

Torreperogil, an historic village on the right of the Guadalquivir, just over three miles from the river bank.[10] There they collected a girl who had asked for the habit as a lay-sister and who was to be called Catalina de los Ángeles, and then resumed their journey, passing through Ubeda, Baeza, Iznalloz. . . . We do not know where they spent the night of the 16th. By that of the 17th they had already reached Daifontes, a little village between the sierras of Aunar and Arana, on the left bank of the Cubilla, a tributary of the Genil.

While Madre Ana, Fray John of the Cross and his companion were discussing, at this halt on the journey, how they would obtain the archbishop's authorization which, according to their information, he obstinately refused to grant, they heard a clap of thunder which Madre Ana described as 'most terrible'. They were afterwards to learn that at this moment a thunderbolt struck the archiepiscopal palace in Granada, very close to the room where the prelate was sleeping. It destroyed the library, killed some mules from his stables and left the archbishop ill with shock.[11] This was on 18 January. On the 19th they reached Albolete, three and a half miles from Granada. Here the Vicar-Provincial met them, to tell them that everything had gone wrong. The archbishop would not grant permission, neither, when he learned it was for a convent of nuns,would the owner of the house let them have it, in spite of the contract made and the fifty thousand ducats they offered him as guarantee. There was no other solution than to lodge provisionally in the house of a noble lady, a widow, who charitably offered to receive them. She was called Ana de Peñalosa. She had already arranged everything and had even prepared a chapel in the great hall of her house.

There were no hesitations, except perhaps on the part of the Vicar-Provincial, up to then so credulous about all these promises, which had not in point of fact been fulfilled. The founders did not hesitate — it was essential to go to Granada. On the 20th, calculating the time so that their arrival should be by night, they presented themselves, hours before daylight, at the noble widow's palace. It was three o'clock in the morning. Doña Ana de Peñalosa, who was expecting them, was so deeply moved that she could not keep back her tears. The nuns wept, too, when they saw the great hall already converted into an oratory, and, deeply touched, they intoned the *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*. Some hours later, at seven, after a communication from Madre Ana

to the archbishop informing him of their arrival and a kindly reply from the prelate, who was still unwell suffering from the shock of the thunderbolt, a shock which had softened him a little, the first Mass was said by the archbishop's Vicar-General, don Antonio Barba, commissioned by his Grace. Fray John of the Cross sang the Gospel and Fray Pedro de los Ángeles the epistle.

Even after the authorization was given, the archbishop went so far as to protest, saying openly that he did not want nuns. The foundation, however, was made, although amid difficulties and privations for the Discalced nuns, who were to spend seven months in a borrowed house, helped by doña Ana and Fray John of the Cross, who brought them what provisions he could from the friars' monastery.

14

PRIOR OF LOS MÁRTIRES

THE monastery of Los Mártires was near the Alhambra on a hill a little lower than the Alhambra hill but similarly situated. The two were separated by a small canyon. It was originally a chapel built by Queen Isabella of Castile in honour of the Christians martyred there by the Moors. At the back of the chapel was a small house for the chaplain. Behind lay uncultivated land surrounded by a Moorish fence. Until 1492 the soil was perforated by underground dungeons, pits of conical shape — wide base and narrow mouth — where Christian captives were put.

In May 1573, when P. Baltasar de Jesús arrived to take charge of the hermitage which was to form the foundation of the Discalced friars' monastery, the land around Los Mártires was dry and barren. There was not even sufficient water to drink in this 'pen of captives', as the Moors called it. The perspective, however, was magnificent. Eastwards, at the back of it, lay the mighty snowmass of the Sierra Nevada, seven thousand feet above sea level. To the south was the fertile plain of Granada, nearly twenty-five miles wide, watered by the Genil and surrounded by sierras and hills. To the north-east lay the Alhambra palace, with its golden walls and oriental gardens, and, farther on, the lovely Generalife. To the west, in the immediate foreground at one's feet lay the city — palaces, towers, narrow streets, balconies full of flowering plants — and farther away in the distance the *vega*, dotted with lordly mansions and disappearing into the Loja mountains.

When Fray John of the Cross climbed up to the tiny monastery of Los Mártires for the first time — at the end of January 1582[1] — the 'captives' pen' had undergone great changes. The friars had been making improvements for the past nine years. The hill was no longer entirely barren — there were trees, vegetable crops and vines. There was even a pond which they had constructed

between 1573 and 1574, when P. Francisco de Jesús was Vicar. In it was collected the water from a conduit which supplied the Alhambra, the right to which had been given them by Philip II in a charter signed at Guadalupe on 27 December 1576. The vines had been planted in 1573, when P. Gabriel de la Concepción was Superior. When they dug the garden, burial places of Moors and Christians had come to light — the Moorish graves with small jars of clay and raisin pips by the side of the skeleton — those of the martyred Christians with images of the Blessed Virgin or silver crucifixes.

The monastery itself had been improved. The original chaplain's house backing on to the hermitage, of which the entire sleeping accommodation consisted of one room where the first Discalced friars to arrive had set three mattresses made of esparto grass separated by stones, on the floor, had been enlarged. Fray Agustín de los Reyes, the first prior of the monastery, in 1580 constructed a large room overlooking the *vega*. All, even the prior himself, who worked 'like a day-labourer, his habit tucked up, sometimes carrying the frails, at others passing the rubble over to the master masons', helped in the work.

When Fray John of the Cross arrived, the friars in Granada had been without a prior for some time. Fray Agustín de los Reyes who had held that office had then been away for more than six months. The Provincial had sent for him to go to Salamanca, appointing him Rector of the new college which had just been founded there. The community of Los Mártires, according to the new Alcalá Constitutions, which were printed in Salamanca about that time and were now binding upon all the houses, could elect as prior any religious from the Province. The fact that he might be prior of some other house did not matter. If two years had passed since his office began, it lapsed through his new election and new office. They fixed, then, on Fray John of the Cross and elected him Prior of Granada.

Los Mártires was not a large community. Although with the enlargement of the tiny house it had been possible to increase the number of Discalced friars beyond the three there were at the beginning, we know that at the time Fray John of the Cross was in Granada there were few religious. By comparing numerous documents, we can arrive at the names of some of his subjects throughout his term of office. At that time the conventual friars in Granada were P. Bartolomé de San Basilio, the future solitary

of Bolarque, where in his transports of love he preached to the trees and the birds; P. Fernando de la Cruz, who was to praise the virtues of his holy Superior; P. Felipe, who had come from Castile, a holy and humble old man, who joined the Discalced Carmelites when he was already a priest; Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz, the student of Baeza and Fray John's companion on his journeys to Beas and El Calvario; P. Juan de San Ángelo; Fray Pedro de los Ángeles, the one who accompanied Saint John of the Cross from Beas to Granada with the nuns; Luis de San Jerónimo, a former subject of his at El Calvario; and the lay-brothers, Fray Gabriel de la Madre de Dios and Brother Francisco. Perhaps the first three founders also remained: Francisco de Jesús, Pedro de la Cruz and Brother Fray García, a former hermit of La Peñuela.

We know the novices who received the habit from the hands of Fray John in even greater detail.[2] The first was Fray Alonso de la Madre de Dios, a native of Burguillos and nephew of the Archbishop of Granada. He later became novice-master at Los Mártires and eventually prior of Ubeda. The second, Fray Juan Evangelista, was to be Fray John of the Cross's companion for nine years. Afterwards came two lay-brothers who completed the rather small number of Fray John's novices during his first two years. Later the number increased to as many as eighteen or twenty subjects, according to the calculation of Fray Juan Evangelista who does not, however, give their names. By comparing manuscripts, we have succeeded in identifying the names of many of them: Fray Martín de San José who for thirty years wore a belt belonging to Fray John of the Cross with which he wrought miraculous cures; Fray Diego de la Concepción, of Caravaca, probably brought along by the saint on one of his journeys to that town, afterwards prior of Córdoba and Andujar; Fray Miguel de los Ángeles, who died, when master of novices in Granada, with the reputation of sanctity; Fray Manuel de la Madre de Dios, a native of Baeza, afterwards Superior of San Hermenegildo, of Madrid; Fray Francisco de la Concepción, one of the founders of the monastery of Guadalcázar — not to be confused with his namesake, the holy old man who was vicar of La Peñuela; Fray Domingo de la Presentación, a Basque and a man of much learning, who came to be Rector of the College of Alcalá and Provincial of Cataluña; Fray Agustín de San José, of Almagro, later prior of Caravaca and of La Manchuela; Fray

Francisco de Jesús María, afterwards a conventual friar of Ubeda; Fray Luis de San Ángelo, known to Fray John when he was in Baeza — he was his first penitent when he began his priestly ministry; Fray Agustín de la Concepción, who had been present while still a youth at the foundation of Baeza and was to witness the holy prior's mystical raptures; Fray Baltasar de Jesús, a witness to the efficacy of his prophetic predictions. . . .

All have left us some information relating to their holy Superior and from many of them we learn details and incidents in connection with him. The story of the vocation and receiving of the habit of his first novice, Fray Alonso de la Madre de Dios, is worth recording.

> When I was still a secular person [Fray Alonso relates] I frequented and had a devotion to three monasteries of Granada more than others — our own, the Charterhouse and that of the Discalced Franciscans. And because it seemed to me, since I was determined to be a friar, that the Charterhouse was best, since one left the world once for all, I applied there. They questioned me and sent for leave to El Paular to give me the habit — for the Granada house was subject to El Paular and did nothing without their permission — which took three months and a good deal of money to get. They then asked me when I wanted to receive the habit. At this point therefore I went to say good-bye to Padre Fray Pedro de los Ángeles and other fathers at Los Mártires; I did not know our holy father who had arrived only recently.
>
> When I told them I was going to the Charterhouse, they showed their joy that I was going to such a holy Order and to such solitude and retirement, asking me at the same time why I had not asked for the habit there, at Los Mártires, and become a Discalced Carmelite friar, since I was so fond of them and they held me in affection. I answered laughing that if their reverences liked, it should be so. Padre Fray Pedro asked for my hand, I gave it him — all in jesting and laughter, without any intention of changing my purpose of going to the Carthusians, for I had caused them to spend much time and money in getting the permission to receive me. While one father was talking to me, another went, it seems, to tell our father (Fray John of the Cross), that I was there and asking for the habit of our Order. Our father came down straight away and after having greeted us, the first thing he said to me, without beating about the bush, was: 'The fathers will already have told you, on the supposition that you aspire to our habit, of the great austerity of this Order, its poverty, penances, great mortification, detachment from and refusal of everything created.' At this, although by nature not slow to speak, I did not reply that we were wasting time or that I was already accepted by the Carthusians and

had come to say good-bye to their reverences before going away to take the habit forthwith, but, seemingly bound hand and foot, together with my faculties and senses, by the presence of our holy father, I said: 'Father, this is what I have come to seek — for if I were seeking anything else, the world is large and there are many religious Orders in it less strict, where I could go.'

I took my leave, for it was nearly nightfall, and went home. I neither supped, nor slept nor undressed, but in my hose and doublet I threw myself on the covering of the bed which I had thrown on the ground. I spent the whole night lamenting my want of honour and inability to speak out, and that I was not to go to either of the two monasteries, for I had played with them both, but should take steeds next day and ride to the world's end where I should not be known by anyone. With these sad thoughts, I passed a sorry night. It was scarcely light when two friars knocked at the door. They must have left their monastery of Los Mártires with the stars. I was astonished at their arrival at such an hour and when I asked how I could serve them, they replied 'By lending us some money.' I said 'How much?' They said, 'No, but come with us yourself and pay for what we buy.' I went, and when we had bought white and dark brown cloth, serge, linen, a belt, sandals, a breviary and the Hours in the Carmelite rite, and got a lad to carry all this, Padre Fray Pedro de los Angeles said to me, 'This is for you, we are going to the monastery.' I said 'Let us go there', with the same sense of compulsion with which I had answered our holy father.

They then went into Chapter about my reception. From what I understood, they were determined not to give me the habit without the leave and approval of the archbishop, who was my uncle, and until I myself should ask for it, so that it should not be thought that the friars were over-persuading me. What I felt at this cannot be expressed, for [the archbishop was] a choleric man [who might say] they had turned me away from the Carthusians. The power of the spirit and words of our holy father Fray John of the Cross, however, gave the necessary strength even to a heart of stone like mine. I went to ask the archbishop's leave and he gave it me, with difficulty, after having questioned me to see if I could stand the hardships of the Order. I returned to the monastery and they gave me the habit.

When the Carthusian fathers learnt this, the prior sent a senior friar, with the procurator, to talk to me, but our holy father was not willing to give them permission. It should be noted that our holy father never made much difficulty about even their own relatives talking with the novices — a few days afterwards he gave leave to my father, who came from one hundred and fifty miles away with the purpose of turning me aside from religious life and said so openly, yet our holy father gave him hospitality in the monastery and left him alone with me for many

hours. Eventually the Carthusian fathers went away without speaking to me and sent our holy father a barrel of oil and various other things as an alms; and they sent us forty loads of wood from a very large pinetree they had cut down to make a beam for an oil-mill which, as they said, would earn the monastery right good money. This our holy father gained through not giving them leave; I don't know what they would have done if he had given it them.

And as I was so far engaged in the Charterhouse, throughout my whole novitiate year I had many temptations to return there; these . . . our father removed from me even without my telling him of them.

Fray Alonso had been very well looked after in his own house and he found the plain, penitential Carmelite diet difficult. His stomach refused it. He spent two entire days without eating, the first two after receiving the habit. At the end of this time hunger caused all his repugnance to disappear and the novice ate with relish. Fray John of the Cross noticed it and scolded him — he ought not to eat 'with so much gusto', the prior said to him. Another day he reproved him in choir. During Divine Office, Fray Alonso closed his breviary and went to trim the oil lamp. 'Leave that and attend to what you are doing,' Fray John admonished him.

During one of the prior's absences — he had gone to the Provincial Chapter — Fray Alonso committed a serious fault. He was corrected immediately by the father who was acting as Superior. When Fray John returned, however, they informed him of what had happened and the first time the guilty novice passed him, the prior said to him — 'Fray Alonso, do again what you have already done.' These words of his Superior made such an impression on him that afterwards he scourged himself of his own accord so pitilessly as a penance that it took months to cure his wounds.

When the novitiate was ended and Fray Alonso was ordained priest, Fray John entrusted the formation of the Granada novices to him and appointed him their master. A terrible interior darkness enveloped his spirit. It lasted for six long months without anything or anyone succeeding in bringing light to his soul or quietening his tormented conscience. This was at a time when Fray John of the Cross was visiting the monasteries and convents of Andalusia in his capacity as Vicar-Provincial. When he came to make his visitation of the Granada house, the Father Master confided his fears, his darkness and his anxieties to him. Fray

John of the Cross said to him, smiling, 'Go in peace, you foolish man, for it is nothing.' And as the divine breath made light come over the universal darkness of the world's beginning, so the holy prior's word dissipated utterly and instantly the darkness of P. Alonso's spirit.

The second novice, Fray Juan Evangelista, was the object of special affection on the part of the Father Prior of Los Mártires. He certainly experienced this affection more, and more deeply, than any of the others. He was his companion on journeys and visits for about nine years, the witness of his penances, of his love for the beauties of nature, of his solicitude for the sick, even of the composition of many of his marvellous mystical treatises. Fray John even went to confession to him several times.

The saint began by making him Procurator of the monastery. Like all the houses of the Discalced Carmelites, Los Mártires, in full course of reconstruction, was short of economic resources. One day there was nothing in the house to eat except a little greenstuff in the garden. Fray Juan Evangelista went to consult the prior, set the need before him and asked leave to go out and seek for alms with which to buy food. The Father Prior replied — 'Heavens, son, because we are short one day, can we not be patient — and even for longer than a day if God wishes to prove our virtue? Come, leave things alone and go off to your cell and recommend the need to our Lord.' The procurator withdrew. Reflecting, however, that there were sick people in the house, he went to Fray John of the Cross again, insisting on the necessity of going out. The prior reproached him for his lack of confidence in God. If you had such confidence, he said to him, from your cell you would negotiate with the Lord for the remedy for these necessities. Fray John Evangelista went away in confusion. He was not, however, convinced. What the friars would feel when they went to the refectory and found the tables empty, grieved him. He could not contain himself and returned for the third time to the prior's cell, saying to him: 'Father Prior, this is tempting our Lord, who wills us to do what is in our power. Let your reverence give me leave, and I will give them something to eat to-day.' Fray John of the Cross smiled in a fatherly way and said to him: 'Go, take a companion, and you will see how soon God confounds the little faith you have had.' The procurator had hardly got farther than the monastery door when he met Licenciate Bravo, the reporter of the Audiencia, who asked him

where he was going. 'To seek something to eat', replied Fray Juan Evangelista. 'Wait then, your reverence; I will give you the money from this condemnation — a fine — which the judges of the Audiencia have set aside in favour of the monastery.' He handed him twelve gold pieces. Padre Evangelista returned to the monastery and when, happy and confused at the same time, he told the prior what had happened and handed him the golden coins to the value of three hundred reals, Fray John said to him affectionately in the presence of P. Baltasar de Jesús: 'How much more glory would have been yours had you stayed in your cell; there God would have sent you what was necessary, without your being so solicitous. Learn, my son, to trust in God.'

One night they sent for the Father Prior of Los Mártires to go and exorcize a possessed woman. He took Fray Juan Evangelista as his companion and they went down the hill of the Alhambra to the city. The prior spoke to the young woman for a short time and then retired to a room alone. In the meantime Fray Juan Evangelista remained with the possessed woman and with the friends and acquaintances who were with her. The devil raged furiously through the mouth of the unfortunate woman: 'I cannot conquer this little friar, neither is there any way by which I can enter into him to make him fall; he has been persecuting me for many years, in Ávila, Torafe and here!' When Father John of the Cross came out of the room where he had retired, P. Evangelista told him what the devil had said through the mouth of the girl, all in praise of the prior. The latter replied quickly: 'Be quiet, son, do not believe that devil, for all he says is lies.'[3]

Fray John of the Cross was confessor to the Discalced Carmelite nuns. One day, however, he could not go there and entrusted the office to P. Pedro de la Encarnación and P. Evangelista.[4] The nuns were then living in the Calle Elvira, having moved there from doña Ana de Peñalosa's house. The convent adjoined the Pilar del Toro. As the two Discalced friars entered the Plaza Nueva a man stopped them. He was of good appearance, with a fair skin and rosy complexion, and with white hair. He seemed to be of about fifty years of age. He was dressed in black and was venerable in appearance. He went up to the Discalced friars, separating them, and, setting himself between them, asked them where they came from. 'From the Carmelite nuns,' replied P. Pedro. 'Your reverences do very well', replied the mysterious

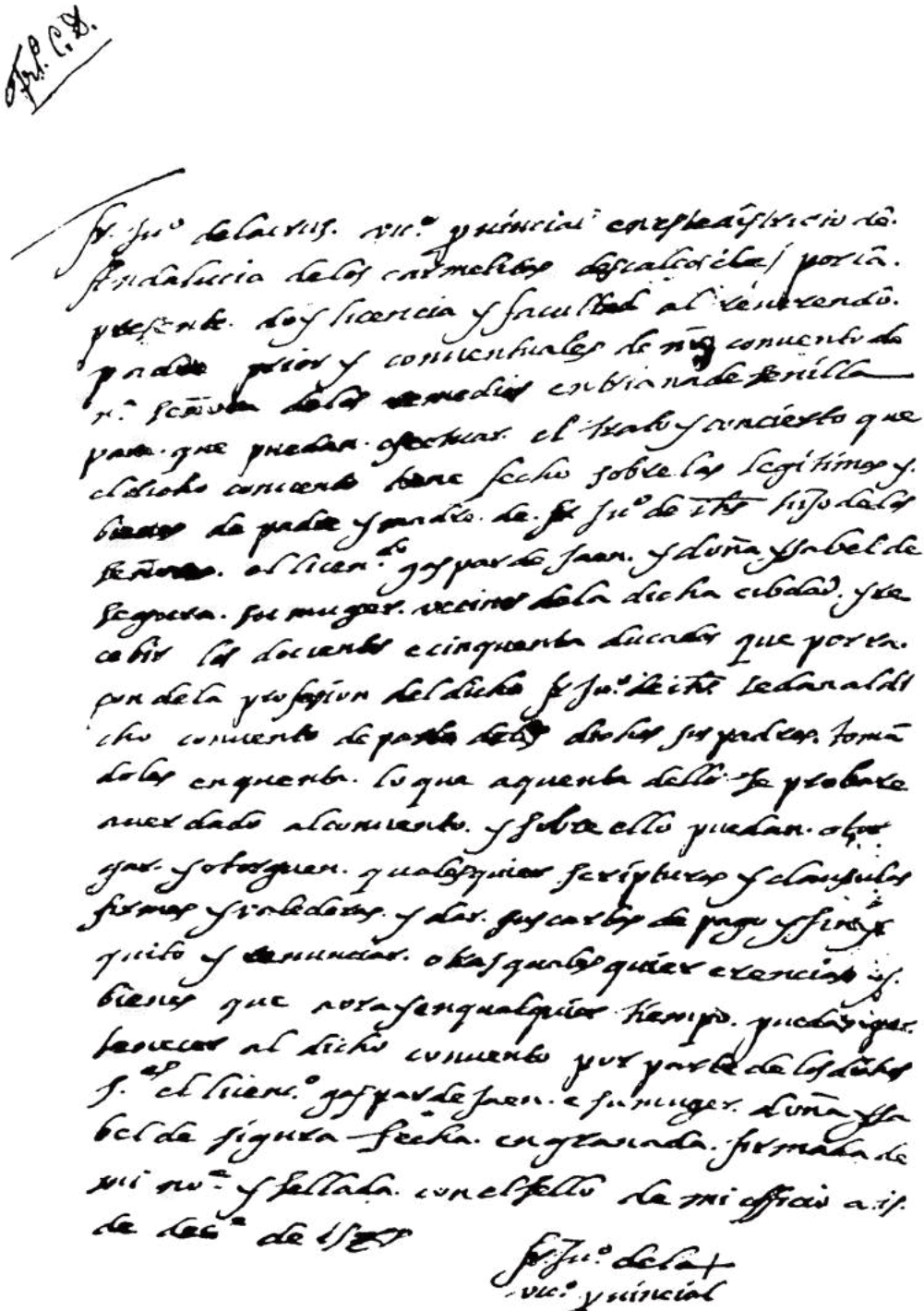
man, 'to go to them, for in that religious Order our Lord is much praised, and his Majesty esteems it greatly and it will go on increasing.' He went on to ask them — 'Fathers, what is the reason that in your Order they have so much devotion to St Joseph?' 'Our holy mother Teresa of Jesus', replied P. Pedro, 'was greatly devoted to him because he helped her much in her foundations and obtained many things from our Lord for her, and for this reason she has dedicated the houses she has founded to St Joseph.' 'And another grace is offered you', replied the venerable old man 'Let your reverences look me in the face and you will have much devotion to that saint, and will ask him nothing which you will not obtain from him.' The Discalced fathers never saw him again. When they climbed up the hill of the Alhambra and reached the monastery of Los Mártires, they told the prior what had happened. Fray John of the Cross showed no surprise and said — 'Hush, you did not recognize him. You should know it was St Joseph; you ought to have knelt to him. And he did not appear to you for yourselves, but for me, for I have not been as devout to him as I should have been, but I shall be so from now onwards.'[5]

In spite of his office and dignity as prior, Fray John of the Cross chose for himself the poorest and narrowest cell in the monastery. It was an old and tiny room in the novitiate. He preferred it to others more recently constructed available in one of the additions lately made to the house. Apart from the mattress on which he slept, there was in the little cell nothing more than a cross of wood, a picture of our Lady, a Bible and the breviary. This formed the whole of the furniture.[6] As if embracing it all there was set this verse of the psalm — *Quid mihi est in caelo et a te quid volui super terram?* The cell had a small window which looked on to the garden. Fray John spent much time in prayer, leaning his arms on the window sill. P. Luis de San Ángelo, whose cell was near the prior's, sometimes came upon him unexpectedly, always in the same posture, during the day contemplating the flowers, during the night or just before dawn 'as dawn was beginning to break' gazing up at the stars.

From this humble little cell he governed the monastery of Los Mártires. His rule was fatherly. He always treated the religious with great charity and love, said one of his subjects. He did not, however, hide their faults from them — he corrected them down to the tiniest details. At times, when the fault committed de-

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

Statue by Gregorio Hernández (Ávila)



DOCUMENT IN ST. JOHN'S HANDWRITING

Concerning the profession of Fray Juan de Jesús in Seville

manded it, he imposed penances. The most severe, very common at this time, was a discipline of little rods, as required by the Constitutions. Fray John, however, knew how to soften it. Once the culprit had completed the penance, the prior himself covered his shoulder and arranged his habit, and when he knelt in front of him to kiss his scapular and ask his blessing, Fray John threw his arms round his neck, affectionately helped him to his feet and said to him sweetly, 'God forgive you. Why were you careless?'

The Superior was not intransigent, nor did he pry into what his subjects did or search for small defects to correct. The friars of Granada asserted that he did not interfere with the different offices he entrusted to each one or go round dependencies and offices on visits of inspection. His corrections were clothed in the spirit of meekness, *in spiritu lenitatis*, as Luis de San Jerónimo, a conventual friar of Los Mártires, said. No one ever heard him use a strong word or saw him lose his calm when exercising correction. His subjects, far from being exasperated, recognized their fault and went away from him determined to amend. Far from seeking out a religious who broke the silence, to discharge the weight of the Rule upon him, he was heard to cough in the cloister or make a noise with the large rosary he wore hanging from his belt — as a warning to the friars who were talking out of time or place to pull themselves up before he saw them.

If in spite of this he surprised someone in a fault, he called him aside and reprimanded him in private, preventing the others from coming to know of the fault committed. It seemed — and he repeated it as a rule of government — that the Superior ought not to reprimand or punish all faults, or, on the other hand, to overlook them all. At times he mortified the brethren to make them taste the merit of suffering. On some he imposed severe mortifications, on others lighter ones, adapting himself to the condition of each. They knew that their Superior was acting with a pure intention, wholly innocent of the least spirit of revenge or of dissimulated tyranny. For this reason, the more he mortified anyone, the more they loved him.

He did not in the least mind humiliating himself when he saw that by this means he was going to win over a rebellious or angry subject. One day he reproved a young religious who was already a priest. P. Jerónimo de la Cruz was present. The friar who was reprimanded became angry, answered the prior bitterly and told

him he was an ignorant man. Fray John humbly took off his hood, prostrated with his mouth to the ground and remained there until the proud youth ceased speaking. When the prior got up from the ground and kissed his scapular, saying 'Let it be for the love of God', the religious was already full of confusion, ashamed and repentant.

It seemed as if the punishments he imposed gave him pain. He liked the other friars to ask him for lenient treatment for the one on whom penance was imposed, both as a proof of charity and as the pretext he needed to lift the punishment. He was once at recreation with the friars, and confronted with a fault committed by a brother the prior said to him, 'Go to your cell.' The religious went away and stayed in his cell, carrying out his punishment. When at night, after supper, the Chapter of faults was held, Fray John complained that there had been no one to intercede for that brother, asking that the punishment should be lifted. He deemed this a great lack of charity.

This quiet and gentle procedure on the part of the prior was not due to lack of energy, as his subjects recognized. They considered him a man of forcefulness, 'who does not succumb to events, however painful they may be,' as 'a man of courage and valour', 'a great heart and manly spirit able to overcome any difficulty whatsoever.' When the case required it, especially if a fault accompanied by scandal were in question, he could react energetically enough. P. Luis de San Ángelo one day appeared wearing a tunic finer than was permitted and demanded by the modesty of the Discalced, and Fray John showed no hesitation — he reproved him and took it away from him. On another occasion they were at recreation and a father, whose name we do not know, went up to one of the groups — P. Luis de San Ángelo was in it — and began to say that a coarse habit did not make saints, that he had seen a tunic worn by our Lord and it was very fine. The Father Prior was close by in another group. The friar with the fine habit had not seen him, but Fray John of the Cross who had been listening to the whole conversation came up and cut short the father's rambling discourse. 'Christ our Lord', he told him, 'had no need of coarse garments, even supposing that the fine tunic were really his, for he had no disorderly passions to mortify, whereas sinful men have.' The religious did not know what to answer and Fray John made him remove then and there, in the presence of all, a very fine hood that he was wearing and

reproved him sharply for the harm he was doing by his teaching and bad example.

It was not weakness of character, then, which made him adopt a gentle form of government; it was the conviction that it was the most effective. All the austerity and rigour he kept for himself; he had nothing but gentleness and kindness where his subjects were concerned. This was a need of his own holiness. Years before, when still a young priest and confessor to the Convent of the Incarnation at Ávila, as we have already seen, he said to the young nun who feared his spiritual direction would be too strict because she considered him a saint: 'The holier the confessor the gentler he is, and the less he is scandalized at the faults of others, because he has a better knowledge of the weakness of man's condition.' It was, then, a rule born of long-standing and deep conviction.

Very well it worked! Even when he was absent the friars maintained the order and observance as if he were there before their eyes. At one time when he was unwell and could not take part in community functions, it was sufficient for him to go to the refectory in the evening to hold the Chapter of faults. He would make a few reflections, one day about silence, another on withdrawal from the world, another on mutual charity — and the fervour and observance of the friars was maintained at its high level. Clearly this was because Fray John did not content himself with inculcating the external and ritual order of things. He was chiefly concerned with the interior side of spiritual life and it was before all things to that that he devoted his attention. In the evenings he sent for his subjects, one each night, and questioned them as to their spirit, the way they were following in prayer, the progress they were making in it, the temptations that beset them, the virtues they were practising. He then gave them counsels for the interior life, according to the particular disposition of each one. P. Jerónimo de la Cruz later spoke with gratitude of the interior light with which he came away from these spiritual conferences with his holy Superior. Fray John rightly considered them as more important than corrections and discourse that were collective in character. In his personal talks, he never forgot to ask the friars about the state of their health, their physical well-being, questioning them even 'about their food'. When this talk took place during the time of prayer, he limited it exclusively to spiritual teaching.

As in the monastery of El Calvario, Fray John, who was always fond of the solitude of nature and its joys, liked to take his friars out into the open air. One of the brethren asked him why he took them into the country so often. The Father Prior replied that it was to prevent their wanting to leave the monastery through spending too much time in it. He then took them to the small hill behind Los Mártires and made them climb the outlying spurs of the Sierra Nevada. He accompanied them and P. Juan Evangelista went as well. Once on the sierra, where they were going to spend the day, he spent some time with them in pleasant conversation at the foot of that mighty snow-crowned mass, and then said to them: 'To-day each one is to go alone through the mountains and spend the day in solitary prayer and in speaking to our Lord from his heart.' At other times he allowed them to entertain one another with innocent conversation while he went apart to pray, only returning to them when it was time for the meal if it were in the morning, or at nightfall if they had come out in the afternoon. There were occasions when they went to look for him and found him in ecstasy, leaning with one elbow on the grass and the rosemary.

At other times he took them to a *huerta* on the banks of the Genil and of the Darro. While they were having their recreation and enjoying themselves, Fray John, sitting on the river bank, gazed with delight at the little fishes darting to and fro beneath the surface of the water. 'Come here, brethen,' he said to his friars, 'and you will see how these little animals and creatures of God are praising him. . . .' In the midst of the conversation he remained, as it were, in ecstasy. The friars noticed it and silently withdrew to continue their recreation, while the prior continued in the joy of his ecstatic contemplation of the tiny fishes.

Such expeditions did not all, however, consist of prayer and having raptures which obliged his friars to pull him by the habit to get his attention to their questions, as happened many times. He gave them days of real recreation, 'days off', as they said, with their unusual meals and collations. The Father Prior generally abstained from anything in the nature of a treat, but it gave him joy to see his friars taking delight and finding joy in a beautiful landscape. He even forced himself to be gay with them. We have already seen him in Baeza and at El Calvario telling the brethren amusing stories at recreation time. He did the same in Granada. Sitting in the midst of them, he tried to make them gay.

They did not like him to be absent from the recreation they had after the mid-day meal. They were fascinated as they listened to him. With his stories he interwove the explanation of some text of Scripture or of some verse of the Psalms. He knew how to draw material for spiritual conversation and teaching from everything.[7]

Sitting in the midst of the friars in this way, he would say to them: 'Come here, sons. Let us clothe ourselves with the virtues and let each give something which is pleasing to our Lord.' The friars, each in turn, mentioned a virtue, and Fray John would comment upon it, speak of its properties and excellences and praise it. When the friar whose office it was rang the bell for the end of recreation, the religious, without any sense of fatigue, had listened to a whole treatise on the virtues in the form of a conversation which was a pleasant dialogue. There were times when he put particular questions to them and he would then comment on their reply. He liked to question, in particular, Fray Francisco, a virtuous and simple lay-brother, whom the prior loved for the childlike spirit which was transparent in his eyes and words: 'Fray Francisco,' the friar said to him one day during recreation, 'what is God?' 'God is what he wants to be,' replied the lay-brother. Fray John, who saw through the sublime simplicity of that definition, spoke with high praise of Fray Francisco's reply.

When at recreation the friars divided into groups, who talked perhaps of indifferent things, there was one religious charged to see that the conversation did not relapse into frivolity or lack of charity. In that case the 'constable'— such was the name given to this zelator — prostrated with his lips to the ground and all knew that a more lofty tone must be given to the conversation.

Fray John liked to mark the feasts with solemnity, particularly that of Christmas. As he had done in Baeza, here also he provided for the Christmas night procession through the cloisters, a slowly moving *cortège* in which the carols sung by the friars alternated with the prior's discourse upon the ingratitude of the folk of Bethlehem who were unwilling to give shelter to the Blessed Virgin. In the church a small altar with its crib of Bethlehem made of rough wood and esparto had been prepared. Afterwards at recreation the prior told the novices to improvise a representation of the mystery — a kind of *auto sacramental.* The naïve aspect was not lacking, for it was a novices' improvisation, but Fray John took advantage of this to draw some spiritual comment from it.

The feasts were even celebrated with special meals, which varied from the simple daily diet of herbs, chick-peas and sardines. We do not know what day it was, but it is said that on the occasion of one feast, the prior of Los Mártires wished to regale his friars with a dish of rice. The cook was Fray Jorge de San José, a novice, later one of the Alcaudete community, and it was he who told the story. When the rice was in the pot ready cooked and the time for the meal had arrived, the friars came down to the refectory. At this precise moment Fray Jorge went to remove the pot from the fire, but it split from top to bottom and the rice was all lost, spilt all over the floor. Fray John, who came into the kitchen to wish him a happy feast and compliment him on the rice, came face to face with the small disaster. The cook was in consternation, perhaps looking down on the floor with hanging head at the results of his cooking. Fray John, however, consoled him: 'Son, don't worry yourself at all. Portion out the rest there is to eat, for our Lord does not want us to eat rice today.' The cook, Fray Jorge, who was aware of the prior's wish to regale his friars with that dish of rice and feared he would be displeased when he found his desire frustrated, was filled with admiration and consolation at the gentle sweetness with which the Superior accepted the catastrophe.

He could not bear to see the friars sad. When this happened to anyone, he would call him and go out into the garden with him or take him into the country to turn his mind off his troubles and comfort him — and he did not desist until he had turned sadness into joy. Neither could he bear to see them in need of food or clothing. Fray Luis de San Ángelo had just arrived from Baeza, where he was studying at the university, and he came wearing a ragged tunic. Fray John noticed it and gave him a new one. When Fray Luis, full of gratitude, thanked him, the holy prior cut him short, saying it was a work of justice and that as such there was nothing to thank him for.

He had real tenderness, above all for the sick and for them he did not look at expense. We have already seen him in Baeza, telling the doctor to prescribe a costly medicine, although he knew that it was not going to cure the patient — it was sufficient for him to know that it could alleviate the terrible nausea he was suffering from.[8] In Granada there was a friar who had lost his appetite. Fray John went to his bedside and mentioned all the various dishes that occurred to him, to see if he fancied any of

them. He refused them all. Then the prior said to him: 'Well, son, I should like to prepare your meal and give it to you with my own hands. I will make you something to tempt your appetite.' He gave orders for a breast of fowl to be roasted, took some salt and dissolved it in a little water and, dipping the roasted breast of chicken in the dressing, himself gave it to him to eat, saying: 'This ought to taste very good and with it you must eat with good appetite.' No one knew what mysterious savour was given to the chicken breast from the simple condiment prepared by Fray John's hands — the fact was that the patient who had lost his appetite ate it with relish and it agreed with him very well.

Another friar was sick, suffering more from finickiness than from loss of appetite. The prior had given orders to the infirmarian that he should take him up for his lunch a small rasher of bacon, some cherries and a little wine. The patient refused it. The infirmarian insisted, but to no purpose. In view of this the infirmarian, who was also delicate and had permission to take a collation, went down to the refectory with the patient's lunch and finished off wine, cherries and rasher of bacon with relish. When Fray John of the Cross visited the patient and found that he had taken no lunch, he sent for the infirmarian and asked him why he had not yet brought it. The infirmarian related what had happened — it was because he did not want to take it. The patient replied that he did not take it because he wanted to be asked to do so and more than once. 'You see, father,' said the infirmarian, 'I ate it up without anyone asking me!' The prior smiled and approved what had been done as a cure for the patient's childishness.

Brother Agustín de la Concepción was worried. After ten months of novitiate he was afraid of being sent away on account of lack of good health. One day Fray John sent for him and proposed that he should go and get well and strong again in his brother's house. Fray Agustín was suspicious lest this might be a kindly and gentle way of getting rid of him and was distressed. The prior read his thoughts and hastened to tell him that that was not the case, that he was sending him in the habit so that he might have nothing to fear — all he wanted was to give the opportunity for a swifter and more efficacious means of recovery. The novice accepted the suggestion and spent a short time with his family. When he returned to the monastery of Los Mártires, Fray John came out and received him affectionately, welcomed

him and asked him about his health. Fray Agustín came back almost the same as before he went away, but said that he was much better, so that they should not refuse him profession, for he was still afraid of some day finding himself without the Carmelite habit. His novice's worry was not hidden from Fray John, and shortly afterwards, on the feast of the Epiphany, as if he felt a certain haste to put the lay-brother at his ease, he said to the brethren during recreation, 'Let us profess Brother Agustín.' He did so immediately. Fray Agustín made his profession and Fray John embraced him, assuring him that from that day onwards he would not feel his sickness again. This came to pass.

To this fatherly solicitude must be added the fact that he had the delicacy to consult and ask the opinion of his friars; that he was not obstinate or wedded to his own opinion and judgement; that they never saw him angry, vexed or lose his self-control; that he was the first at the lowliest tasks — serving at table, sweeping, washing up, cleaning the latrines; that while he gave the brethren the best he could, he deprived himself of food and practised every kind of mortification — eating bread and drinking water on his knees in the middle of the refectory, praying for a long time with his arms in the form of a cross, kissing the friars' feet as the meal ended or standing at the door of the refectory without his hood for those going out to strike him in the face — in short, that nobody succeeded in discovering any imperfection whatever in him. The deep and tender affection which all his subjects gave him will thus be understood.

On 1 May 1583 a Chapter of the Discalced friars was held in Almodóvar. It was the second since the separation of Calced and Discalced Carmelites, the first having been held in Alcalá de Henares. Twenty-six fathers came to the Chapter convened by the Provincial, Fray Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios. Among them was Padre Fray John of the Cross, as Prior of Granada. The first thing done before proceeding with the election of diffinitors was the correction of the priors, according to what was prescribed in the Constitutions. The Father-Provincial called Fray John of the Cross to account — he was accused of paying few visits to secular persons, and the desirability of such visits, with a view to obtaining larger alms to the benefit of the monastery, was pointed out to him. The Vicar-Provincial, Fray Diego de la Trinidad, who had recently been to Granada as we shall see, made him the same admonition. Fray John knelt down and

humbly listened to the reproof. When it was finished he asked leave to speak and said: 'Father, if the time I have to spend in visiting these persons and persuading them to give me alms, is occupied instead in our cell asking our Lord to move such persons to do for him what they were to do through my persuasion, and if with this his Majesty provides my monastery with what is necessary, what purpose is there in my visiting them, unless it is in some need and as a work of charity?' P. Jerónimo found nothing to object to in this reasoning on the part of the Prior of Granada, and the fathers of the Chapter assented, saying he was quite right.

The Chapter dealt with the desirability of modifying what had been decided in Alcalá as to the election of local Superiors. This had been left to the monasteries themselves — each community elected its own prior. It was now decided that the priors should be elected at the Chapter, as the Provincial and diffinitors were. Fray John of the Cross took advantage of the opportunity to propose there should be no re-elections. He got up and with intelligent and forceful reasoning set before the fathers of the Chapter the desirability of those who had just been Superiors remaining without any office, stressing the inconveniences of re-elections in the Order. He would be the first affected by such an arrangement if the Chapter adopted his suggestion. It would seem that the Chapter fathers were impressed with the discourse of the Prior of Granada — all appreciated the reason that prompted it. Convinced or unconvinced, however, they did not approve the proposal and the legislation continued to provide for re-elections.

The Provincial tabled another problem, one very dear to his spirit with its preference for the apostolate — the desirability of launching out into missionary work, founding monasteries of the Reform both in other civilized countries and in the lands of the infidel. This was not the first time the matter had been brought forward — attempts at carrying it into effect had already taken place. A year earlier, on 5 April 1582, the first five missionaries of the Reform had left Lisbon in a small ship, the *San Antonio*, which set sail from the mouth of the Tagus in the presence of Philip II, who personally gave the order to leave. An unfortunate accident, the collision with another ship, sank the *San Antonio* and the five missionaries perished in the shipwreck. Padre Gracián now suggested the desirability of repeating the attempt.

Fray John of the Cross put forward his objections. He did not deny the excellence of the work, but was of the opinion that the

foundation of houses of the Reform in nations not yet ready for the Discalced Carmelite life, overwhelmingly contemplative as it was, might come to change the spirit of the Order.[9] In this matter again, Fray John's opinion was not accepted. The Chapter legislated for the foundation of monasteries in other countries, even in pagan lands, and while P. Doria left for Italy for the purpose of founding a monastery of Discalced friars in Genoa, a fresh expedition to the Congo was prepared which left this same year, 1583, although this also failed to arrive at its destination, being captured off the Cape Verde Islands by English pirates and returning to Spain after painful vicissitudes.

It was during this Chapter, too, that the opposition between Padre Gracián and Padre Doria, who had arrived from Italy and was present at the Almodóvar meeting, began to take shape and assume its full force. Gracián was accused of devoting excessive attention to the pulpit to the detriment of regular observance. Padre Doria by his attacks on the Provincial came to stir up an attempt to depose him from office. When the diffinitors were prepared to carry the matter to a conclusion, however, it was Doria himself who advised them not to take the step, but to content themselves with the threat which obliged Padre Gracián to moderate his excessive activity. Nothing is known of the attitude of Fray John of the Cross in this matter. It seems highly probable that he remained aloof from the painful conflict, since historians, so eager to stress the saint's intervention in anything which could favour the claims of Doria against Gracián, say nothing of it. There is no evidence that Fray John advised against the deposition, but that was to be his attitude and his advice later, when the problem now raised arrived at its decisive stage in the process of expulsion of P. Gracián.

When the Chapter was over[10] and Fray John of the Cross, like all the local Superiors, had been confirmed in his office as Prior of Granada, he set out in the direction of Andalusia on the return journey to the monastery of Los Mártires. The friars must have welcomed him back with joy, because, apart from the satisfaction they would feel on knowing that the Chapter had confirmed the election they had made, they loved him more than if he were their earthly father. There was no one who disliked him, all had experience of the kindness of his rule. As always, on his return, even if his absence had only been one of a few hours, they joyfully ran out to meet him, received his blessing, kissed his hand and his

scapular and congratulated themselves on seeing him again, as if he had been an angel. One of the friars of the community, P. Martín de San José, said that they came one after another with fervour and joy as if they were gaining a jubilee. The holy friar received them affectionately, caressing them.

It is quite true that the friars who only knew him by the fame of his virtue were afraid to go and live with him, trembling when they were assigned to his monastery, because they thought they were going to find an intransigent Superior, who would make them enter by force the path of the most rigid observance, but a few days at his side were sufficient to change their opinion. Then they asserted that to enjoy the benefit of his rule, they would follow him whithersoever he went. One friar petitioned the Provincial to live with Fray John always and obtained his request — it was P. Juan Evangelista.

When, almost the third of a century after the death of Fray John of the Cross, P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios was visiting the provinces of Andalusia, he could still see how the memory of the saint's fatherly rule had remained alive — a rule which all longed for and blessed.

15

MASTER OF SOULS IN GRANADA

It was during the time he was in Granada that Fray John wrote in the *Spiritual Canticle:*

> So long as the soul has not arrived at this state of union of love, it is fitting for her to practise love both in the active life and in the contemplative life; but when she reaches that stage, she ought not to occupy herself with other external works and practises which can hinder her in however small degree from that loving attention to God, although such works be greater in God's service, because a little of this pure love is more precious in the sight of God and the soul and more profitable to the Church, although the soul appears to be doing nothing, than all those other works put together. . . . Whenever, therefore, a soul has some degree of this kind of solitary love, harm would be done to herself and the Church if, even though it were for a short time only, people should strive to occupy her in external or active things, even if such things were of great profit. . . . After all, we were created for this goal of love. Let those who are very active and who think to encircle the world with their preachings and external works, learn, then, that they would give much more profit to the Church and please God much more, quite apart from the good example they would give, if they spent even half this time in remaining with God in prayer, even though they had not arrived at such a high point as this. It is certain that they would then do more and with less labour with one work than they do now with a thousand, for their prayer would merit this, and they would have gathered spiritual strength in it; for to act in any other way is to hammer vigorously and accomplish little more than nothing, and at times nothing at all, and it may even sometimes do harm.

He had, then, a precise notion of the apostolate. He was, above all, very far from confusing it with a simple contact with secular persons, even though it were to fulfil possible social exigencies, much less on the pretext of gaining sympathies and alms for one's

monastery. That seemed to him to be degrading both the work of the religious and that of the benefactor. He persisted in this opinion. One day he was going up from Granada to the monastery of Los Mártires, accompanied by Fray Juan Evangelista, when in the Calle de Gómeres he met a person of importance. The monastery was in need. Fray John of the Cross spoke of it with the distinguished gentleman of Granada, who advised him to visit some members of the Audiencia, because they would certainly help him with alms. 'If those alms', replied Fray John of the Cross, 'were to be given because I visited them, that is no reason why they should be prompted by so low a purpose and motive; if they are to be given for God, he will move their hearts so that they give them in any event.' The two Discalced friars continued on their way.

Not all, however, had this absolute confidence in Providence. Even among his own subjects there were found some to criticize this aloofness and who interpreted it as a lack of courtesy. They said so to Padre Diego, Vicar-Provincial of Andalusia, and he pointed out to the prior the desirability of visiting the President and Judges of the Audiencia. Fray John of the Cross obeyed. He took P. Jerónimo de la Cruz as companion, saying to him: 'Take your cloak, your reverence, for they say we have to make a visit.' They went down to the city and visited some of the Judges of the Chancellery. The prior played his part with graciousness and even wit — as his companion testified. When they came to the President, Fray John apologized for the lateness of the visit. He assured him, however, that this was not on account of forgetfulness, but because of the exigencies of the life of recollection to which their profession obliged them. They did, however, commend him to our Lord frequently. The President thanked him for the visit and added: 'As to us, let your reverences continue to fulfil your obligations as you are doing, with our Lord, praying for us, for the many obligations we have scarcely leave us time to take our rest.' Fray John recognized the clear and decisive lesson given by the President, and when they had left his presence he said to Jerónimo de la Cruz: 'Our Lord has made it clear to us that he does not want us to pay complimentary visits to men of the world, for there are so many who look after that; he wants us to attend to his Majesty alone.' Suspending the rest of their projected visits, they returned to the monastery. Fray Jerónimo asserted that he never saw him pay any more complimentary visits.

Fray John of the Cross, however, did not neglect the apostolate. Rather than in the pulpit — no one has pointed out as he has done both the needs of and dangers for preachers — he sought the good of souls through spiritual direction. He was not wanting in eloquence. We have already heard his contemporaries praise the effectiveness of his marvellous conversation, which held spellbound and tireless all those who heard it. He preferred, however, the silent apostolate, that of individual persuasion in private exhortation and in the hidden work of the confessional.

As in Baeza and as in Ávila earlier, the persons who placed themselves under his direction in Granada were numerous. He made no distinctions. He gave the same attention to poor, unlettered people as he did to Masters of the university. Among those he directed at this time, together with Master Juan Sánchez Minarro, incumbent of the parish of San Bartolomé and a descendent of the conquerors of Granada, we find Potenciana the mulatto, Isabel de Jesús, also a mulatto, and other poor persons. His direction was vigorous — the application of his stern doctrines of negation — and creative of strong souls. It did not matter to him that the person directed was of illustrious lineage, like the noble doña Ana de Peñalosa — the holy master relentlessly imposed the most absolute detachment. A nun who came to speak to Fray John found herself a witness of this scene — he, sitting down, had at his feet doña Ana de Peñalosa, who was weeping like another Magdalene, while Fray John of the Cross with his eyes raised to heaven repeated these words: 'Nothing, nothing! One must give even one's skin and more for Christ.' Later, as a result of this direction, doña Ana was to merit the mystical doctor's composing for her the strophes and commentary of the most sublime of his books, *The Living Flame of Love*.

Another person he directed was Juana de Pedraza, a young woman of twenty-five.[1] She was a native of Baeza, and was to be a favourite with the Prior of Los Mártires, who liked to call her 'my daughter in the Lord'. It is certain that he gave her the confidence and attentions of a father. One day after confession the young woman took her leave with the intention of setting out immediately on the return journey to Granada, which lay at the bottom of the hill of Los Mártires. Fray John, however, dissuaded her; she was to wait. He told her at what time she would be able to leave. Juana de Pedraza had hardly left the confessional when a terrible storm broke out violently over the hill of the Alhambra

and lasted precisely until the time which the holy confessor had told her to wait. Juana de Pedraza afterwards related the story to P. Agustín de San José, one of the friars of Granada, as a prophetic utterance on the part of the prior.

On another occasion, while she was at confession, the procurator of the monastery came to tell Fray John that there was nothing with which to buy food to make a meal for the friars. As usual, the prior told him that God would provide. After a short time the procurator returned, urging that he should authorize him to go out in search of provisions, but Fray John again refused him permission. Juana de Pedraza had not yet left the confessional when the procurator came back for the third time, but Fray John persisted in his refusal. When the procurator had gone away the confessor told his penitent that he had refused the permission three times because people were already coming with money as alms for the friars. This was a fact — as she went out of the church Juana met a woman who was bringing four ducats in alms for the monastery.

Fray John did not lose sight of his faithful penitent. When the holy confessor left Andalusia and returned to Castile, where he was prior of Segovia, Juana de Pedraza wrote to him complaining of his silence, of the loneliness in which she found herself and of a certain spiritual void she felt in her soul, and even, it would seem, of the absence of divine communications. Fray John took up his pen and wrote the following letter to her, which shows both the perfection to which, under his vigorous direction, the girl had arrived and the great affection in which her director held her:

> May Jesus be in your soul. Thanks be to him who has given his grace to me, so that, as you say, I may not forget the poor. I do not however live a sheltered life, as you also say, and it makes me vexed to think you should really think so, when you say it. This would be really bad after so many marks of kindness, even if I did not deserve them. I have certainly not forgotten you. How could I, do you think, forget one who is in my soul, as you are? While you are in darkness and emptiness of spiritual poverty, you think that everyone and everything are failing you. This is not surprising, for then it also seems to you that God is failing you too. But nothing is wanting to you, nor have you any need to consult me about anything, nor have you reason to do so; for all is merely suspicion without a cause. He who does not want any other thing than God does not walk in darkness, however dark and poor he finds himself, and he who does not cherish presumption or his own

desires, either about God or about creatures, and does his own will in no way whatever, has nothing to stumble over or worry about. You are in a good way. Be quiet and rejoice. Who are you to be anxious over yourself? You would do well to stop.

You were never better than now, because never were you so humble or so submissive, nor have you ever esteemed yourself as so little and all the things of the world, too. Nor have you ever recognized yourself as so evil, nor God as so good, nor have you ever served God so purely and disinterestedly as now, nor do you go after the imperfections of your will and determination, as perhaps you were wont to do. What do you want? What life or manner of procedure do you imagine for yourself in this world? What do you think serving God to be if not the not doing evil, keeping his commandments and going about his business as best we can? If you are doing this, what need is there of other apprehensions or other lights, or sweetness — whether from here or there, in which ordinarily there are never lacking stumbling-blocks and dangers for the soul, which with its understanding and appetites is deceived and fascinated and its own faculties cause it to err? Thus it is a great mercy of God when he darkens the faculties and impoverishes the soul so that she cannot err through them; and how can she not err, save by going along the straight path of the law of God and of the Church and living only in obscure and true faith, certain hope and integral charity and waiting for our good things in the life to come, living here on earth as pilgrims, poor, exiles, orphans, desolate, without a road and without anything, hoping for it all there in heaven?

Be glad and trust God, who has given you signs that you can very well do so and ought to do so; and if you do not, it will not be surprising that he should be vexed, seeing you behave so foolishly, when he is taking you where it is best for you and has put you in so safe a place. Do not seek for any way but this and calm your soul, for all is well, and communicate as you are wont to do. Go to confession when there is something definite; not merely to talk. If there is something worrying you, write to me about it and write to me soon and more often, you can always do so through doña Ana when you cannot through the nuns.

I have not been very well, but I am all right now; but Fray Juan Evangelista is not well. Recommend him to God and me also, my daughter in the Lord.

From Segovia, 12 October 1589 — FRAY JOHN OF THE CROSS.[2]

It was always the same teaching of solid spirituality, but beneath it there was an affectionate heart beating strongly with the purest human feelings.

Juana de Pedraza ended by putting on the habit and leading a religious life in her own house until she was nearly eighty. In

1627, sixty-five years after these days of her correspondence and dealings with the Prior of Los Mártires, when information was being collected for Fray John's canonization, deeply moved she set on record what she remembered of her former director, of whom she had kept with affection and veneration a small engraved portrait, which she showed the judges who formed the tribunal.

Fray John of the Cross did not limit himself to the spiritual good of his penitents; he concerned himself with helping them in material things too. He gave them alms from the poverty of the monastery. He who refused the procurator permission to go and seek money for the friars, did not hesitate to ask devout people for alms to remedy the needs of his neighbours. Maestro Nuñez, a cleric who came to confession to the Prior of Los Mártires, arrived at the monastery in an old worn-out cassock. Fray John noticed this and asked his benefactors for money to buy him a new one. When he had it in his hands, he sent for the priest to give it him, but the cleric refused it. 'Do not think', he said to the prior, 'that my going about as I do is through necessity, it is because I want to follow God truly.' Fray John understood the full meaning of these words. He was never to forget this lesson of humility and genuine poverty, and when occasion offered he would tell his friars of it, to serve them as an example and stimulus.

There were times when, since the monastery was remote, Fray John would invite some of his penitents to dinner. He did so in the case of Master Juan Sánchez Minarro, who once heard Fray John say that he envied the pains suffered by the martyrs in defence of the faith much more than the rewards of glory they had obtained. The meal the friars had the day Master Minarro dined with them is known to us — chick-peas and stewed nettles. He also invited the painter Francisco Ruiz on various occasions. Fray John had commissioned him to build a tabernacle for the monastery. On one occasion as he entered the refectory he noticed that the friars, with no more food on the table than a little bread and the usual salt-cellar, were listening recollectedly to a spiritual discourse by the prior. When this was finished, they rose, without having eaten. They had hardly left the refectory, however, when the bell at the porter's lodge was heard to ring. 'Brother,' said Fray John of the Cross to the porter, 'go and see who is at the door.' Francisco Ruiz accompanied the brother to the door and found a small greyish-brown mule. It was carrying

saddle-bags with three fresh fish in one and a load of bread and skin of wine in the other. These things had been sent by don Luis de Córdoba, future promoter of the foundation of Discalced friars in the city of the Caliphs. Fray John hastened to give instructions to the cook to prepare the fish immediately so that the friars might dine earlier than usual.

In 1584, year of barrenness and hunger in Andalusia, the charity of the Father Prior of Los Mártires towards the needy reached its apex. Almost everyone in the province was in need. The poor never ceased coming to the doors of the monastery in search of a piece of bread or some maravedís, whilst those who were ashamed, persons of good position who were also suffering from hunger, waited for the secret help of the Carmelite prior. Fray John attended to and helped all. He gave orders that no one was to be sent away with empty hands. The friars could not understand where all he distributed came from, for the monastery was poor and, in spite of it, there was no lack of wheat at Los Mártires the whole year through.

In addition, he continued to make alterations to the house. Gradually the former hermitage, so small, was becoming converted into a vast monastery. We have already seen the work the first prior, Fray Agustín de los Reyes, did. Fray John paid the debts and undertook further enlargements. Two works, in particular, were to remain as a memory of his period of rule — an aqueduct and the monastery cloister. The water, so necessary on that barren hill, reached the garden through pipes and conduits which crossed a ravine, with consequent obstruction through the difference of level. Fray John had some arches made 'of good workmanship' which obviated the difference of level, and over them ran the water which came from the top of the Generalife to fill the large pool that had been constructed in the days of P. Francisco de Jesús. Even to-day, almost four centuries later, we can see considerable remains of this engineering work due to Fray John of the Cross.

After the aqueduct, he undertook the construction of the cloister. Francisco Pulgar, who was to be first chronicler of the Reform, and who was living in Granada at this time in 1584, still a secular person, though he was later to be prior of Los Mártires, asserted that 'it is the best cloister known to-day in Spain in the monasteries of our Discalced Reform, because with its solidity — for it is made of stone — Fray John so combined

the nobility of the architecture and the beauty of the lights with decency, devotion and moderation, that when one raises one's eyes . . . it always seems new . . . ; and this was from where the model was taken for the other houses of the Order'.

The prior's brother, Francisco de Yepes, took part in this construction work. When or why he came from Medina del Campo, where he continued to live, is not clear. Perhaps Fray John sent for him after the death of his mother, Catalina Álvarez. Whatever the reason, Francisco was here, working as a mason's labourer, despite his fifty odd years. The prior was in no way ashamed of his brother's humble presence, and when people came to visit him — it made no difference if it were some outstanding personality — he hastened to introduce Francisco, saying, 'May I introduce you to my brother, who is the treasure I most value in the world.' He took him to see the Discalced nuns, where María de la Cruz, one of Fray John's favourite penitents, met him.

The prior himself worked at the same tasks as his brother, and made sun-dried bricks. On one occasion the Guardian of the Franciscans who came to visit him, surprised him at this work. Fray John was not in the least disturbed; he received the visit of the Franciscan Superior in the garden, just as he was, with his hands covered with clay. This was not the only time that illustrious persons who came to visit him found him in the garden. On one occasion a friar of importance came, it is not known of what Order, and the prior was working in the garden. It seemed that the visitor had found him thus engaged on other occasions, and he said to him: 'Your Paternity must be the son of some farmer since you like the garden so much that we never see you elsewhere.' 'I am not so important as that,' replied Fray John, 'for I am the son of a poor weaver.'

The veneration of the people of Granada for the Prior of Los Mártires was extraordinary. There were many who called him the holy Fray John of the Cross'. One of those who revered him conceived the idea of making a portrait of him. It was not an easy thing, for it was certain that he would not agree to this. It had to be done, then, without his being aware of it. A painter was secretly sent for and one day, while the prior was praying in the fields away from the others, the artist studied him closely and afterwards painted him. When Fray John became aware of this, he was very much displeased. The portrait was painted, however. It is probable that the engraving that his penitent, Juana de

Pedraza, showed the judges of the Apostolic Investigation in 1627 was a copy of this. What has become of it is not known. It might possibly be the one the Discalced nuns of Granada possessed in which Fray John is kneeling, his hands joined, his face and eyes raised to heaven. His white cloak stands out against the background — a mountainous landscape almost certainly of the spurs of the Sierra Nevada. There is in his face, which is small and oval, a singular expression of sweetness. The nose is aquiline; the eyebrows well arched; the eyes deep-set; the brow is broad, extending into a bald and venerable forehead. Although kneeling, we can see clearly that it is a body 'of stature between medium and small'.[3]

The favourite field of the spiritual ministry of the Prior of Los Mártires was the convent of the Discalced Carmelite nuns. As we have seen, he had come with them to Granada as their founder and he had not abandoned them either materially or spiritually. When the nuns, on their arrival in Granada, were first installed in the house of doña Ana de Peñalosa, he brought them vegetables and fish from the monastery of Los Mártires. Afterwards, from 29 August 1582, he continued to look after them when they were in the house rented from don Alonso de Granada y Alarcón, situated near the Pilar del Toro in the Calle de Elvira, the street in which the Holy Office was established. Finally, from 8 November 1584, it was in the permanent convent in the house of the Gran Capitán, with its double gallery — one for the upper storeys and one for the lower — around the small Andalusian patio, granite pillars and wood roof.[4] Fray John took part in the negotiations for the purchase of the building, and gave the nuns his encouragement, assuring them prophetically, in their moments of uncertainty and pessimism, that all would turn out well. When the nuns, weary of waiting for the papers which had to come from Madrid with the necessary permission of Philip II, began to get disheartened, the prior would say to them, 'Daughters, the Lord has eternal dwellings prepared for you — will he fail to give you this one?' In a short time the king's permission arrived.

From the very earliest days, Fray John of the Cross was confessor to the prioress, Ana de Jesús. She discussed everything with him, sometimes in the confessional, sometimes outside. In reality, this was only continuing what he had been doing in Beas. When she was still in doña Ana de Peñalosa's house — earlier, then,

than 29 August 1582 — and worried about the lack of support which the community was finding for the foundation, Madre Ana interiorly heard these words, *Scapulis suis obumbravit tibi et sub pennis eius sperabis*. She hastened to consult her confessor, Fray John of the Cross, and P. Ribera.

Like the prioress herself, all the nuns received their spiritual direction from the Prior of Los Mártires. It was a small community at the beginning, but with excellent subjects: María de Cristo, who was sub-prioress, and Antonia del Espíritu Santo had come from Ávila and had been formed by Madre Teresa; Beatriz de Jesús was the Madre's niece, had been her subject at the Incarnation, and had since been directed by Fray John of the Cross; Beatriz de San Miguel, Leonor Bautista and Lucía de San José had been known to him from Beas. Then there were the first of those professed at Granada, who had entered the convent after overcoming great obstacles on the part of their families — Mariana de Jesús, whose parents belonged to Cabra; Isabel de la Encarnación professed 14 June 1584, the one who had a portrait made of her confessor; María de Jesús, from Granada; Catalina del Espíritu Santo and Catalina de Jesús. Later, when they were already in the house of the Gran Capitán, purchased with the dowries of the first nuns professed,[5] there were María de la Cruz and María de la Madre de Dios, who received the habit from Fray John's hands; Agustina de San José, María Evangelista de Jesús, María de San Juan, Ana de la Encarnación. . . . Of almost all, we know some story connected with Fray John of the Cross.

Many received the habit from his hands; some, like Agustina de San José, owed their profession to him when the community was unwilling to grant it; there were some who had entered the convent thanks to the intervention, sometimes miraculous, of the father confessor. This happened to María Machuca. She had the wish to be a nun, but had no dowry. One day she went out desirous of visiting Fray John of the Cross to tell him of her desires. When her cousin María, who was to enter the convent later, was informed that Fray John was at that time in the Carmelite nuns' church, the two cousins went there together. When they arrived, the Prior of Los Mártires was kneeling in prayer in preparation for saying Mass. María Machuca went up to him and asked him to hear her confession. Fray John, sitting on a bench in the church, listened to what she had to say, her difficulties and her hopes. He encouraged her and promised to help her. When

Mass was over, they went to the parlour. The Father Prior introduced her to the nuns, who were delighted with the spirit and manners of the young postulant. There was, however, one difficulty — she had not sufficient dowry. Ana de Jesús, the prioress, made a negative gesture — then it was not possible to admit her, for the convent was lacking in resources. 'Madre,' replied Fray John of the Cross quickly and sorrowfully, 'are those desires that this soul has to be lost?' In a short time Fray John himself gave the habit to María, then to be called María de la Cruz.

One nun who had entered the cloister was brought by the hand by Fray John. This was Isabel de la Encarnación. She was a girl from the best society of Granada and had sustained a terrible struggle with her relatives, who wanted her to marry. Finally everything was settled and she arrived at the Carmelite nuns' church to enter the convent, when sudden and violent scruples made her vacillate about her vocation. Fray John, who had come to give her the habit, prayed for her, heard her confession, gave her Communion and, taking her by the hand, led her to the door of the enclosure. He assured her that her fears would disappear almost before she had crossed the threshold of the convent. This was the case. Isabel de la Encarnación was to be one of those about whom the Prior of Los Mártires spoke with enthusiasm. We know her already — it was she who had his portrait painted.

Fray John frequently went down to the convent of the Carmelite nuns.[6] They praised his charity, the fervour of his exhortations, the skill of his direction, his surprising knowledge of souls and, with it, the perceptible progress in virtue they experienced. Agustina de San José, who thought herself lacking in virtue by the side of her sisters and who even felt doubts as to her vocation, merely by seeing Fray John or hearing him speak of spiritual things felt herself so full of fervour that it seemed to her that her heart would leave her breast, sometimes with longing to serve God, at other times for sorrow, because she thought she was not pleasing to him. The nuns attributed this efficacy of his presence and his words to the burning love of God he had in his heart which communicated itself to those who were near him.

They noticed that when he came to attend to their spiritual needs, he made no distinction between Superior and subjects. He gave more attention to those who were more in need or who were more ignorant. His predilection was for the most perfect. After

having given the habit to María de la Cruz, the first time the nuns went to the parlour the novice took up her position by the grille in front of the others, so that he might give her his blessing. The sisters said to Fray John, 'Your reverence must love her much, for she is called *of the Cross*.' He replied, 'I shall love her much if she is a friend of the Cross.'

He did not need long explanations to realize the spiritual state of his penitents. They said to themselves, 'He understood one's soul with two words.' They were in admiration at his discretion. He was never in a hurry, nor was he intransigent with the imperfect — he knew how to wait. As he had done at the Incarnation in Ávila and with the Discalced nuns at Beas, he used to leave them sentences and maxims in writing. Agustina de San José was later to lament not having kept those he wrote to her, for they had the marvellous power of his living word. She used to keep them and read them with the same veneration as the epistles of St Paul. One note was particularly famous. He wrote to the whole community, inviting them to intimate recollection in order to receive the divine communication in its fullness. The fruits of this written invitation were surprising. We do not know the exact content of the note, but we know that when thirty years later P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios went to Granada to get information about Fray John, the nuns still spoke of it with deep feeling.

The procedure Fray John followed in his spiritual ministry was his classic method of negation. He inculcated it by word of mouth with the same insistence and assurance as he did in writing his books. He made his penitents practise the most delicate mortifications. One Ash Wednesday, when all were waiting for Communion, Fray John did not distribute it. 'To-day', he said to them, 'is a day to be spent in ashes, exercising ourselves in self-knowledge.' The nuns humbly gave themselves up to the thought of their own miseries. Francisca de la Madre de Dios, who was at the grating of the choir, surprised him in the church kneeling before the tabernacle, his face touching the ground. He remained in this position a long time, and when he got up and went to the confessional, his face was radiant with joy. Madre Francisca asked him what had made him so happy. 'Ought I not to be so,' replied Fray John, 'when I have been adoring and seeing my Lord?' And putting his hands together before his breast, he exclaimed — 'O what a good God we have!' María de la Cruz, who had received the habit from his hands, noticed that Fray John fre-

quently said the Mass of the Holy Trinity, and asked him — 'Why do you say the Mass of the Most Holy Trinity so often?' 'I hold it as the most holy thing in heaven,' replied the saint with wit. On another occasion, at the feast of Christmas 1585, Fray John went into the enclosure and the nuns showed him a very beautiful Infant Jesus, reclining asleep on a skull. Fray John, touched by the sweet expression of the divine Child, exclaimed:

Lord if I am to die of love,
Now is the occasion.[7]

The nuns knew quite well what a penitential life their confessor led. His emaciated face and tiny and mortified figure were indications of this. They knew that when he stayed on to a meal he contented himself with very little and refused all dainties. María de la Cruz who served the meal to him, even when he was ill could not give him more than a little mutton. Yet he was concerned that the nuns should lack nothing essential. He did not merely look after them spiritually. Many were the occasions when he sent them a meal from his monastery, particularly vegetables and fish. The nuns used to say, 'May God reward our father. Since he is holy, God sends him enough for his house and ours.'

Besides the perfect virtue which they observed and admired in him, several extraordinary things happened to complete the veneration of the nuns for their confessor. They were convinced that he could penetrate into the interior of their minds; they knew that God revealed the state of their souls to him. They even thought that from his retreat at Los Mártires he could see what they were doing in their convent. When Agustina de San José was about to make profession, serious difficulties arose which made the nuns hesitate and put them in a predicament about allowing the novice to be professed. The prioress sent a messenger with a note to the monastery of Los Mártires. She asked Fray John to be good enough to come down to the Discalced nuns' convent. When the messenger was beginning to climb the Alhambra hill, he met Fray John who was already on his way down and said to him, 'God be with you. Tell the Mother Prioress that I already know why she has sent for me and that I was already on my way.' He arrived at the Carmelite convent and solved the difficulties, deciding that Sister Agustina should be professed.[8]

They had seen him cast the devil out of a possessed nun — it was Sister Asunción. Through her mouth the devil cried out,

'Now little Seneca is coming, now little Seneca is coming to do me harm!'

To this must be added the simplicity with which he proceeded in everything. They had seen him go out of the parlour to make room for a relative of one of the nuns. Another day, when Madre Ana de Jesús was praising him before other persons and saying he had been prior in a certain monastery, Fray John quickly rejoined, 'There I was actually cook.' When he stayed on to a meal at the Carmelite convent, he liked to spend the hour of recreation with them in the parlour. Fray John was on the outside of the grating, the nuns on the inside working at their embroidery or at the distaff, while Fray John talked. At times he spoke of things of the spirit, at other times of indifferent things, but even then he knew how to supernaturalize the theme of the conversation. Even from something childish he could draw the loftiest spiritual concepts. If conversation about indifferent things became prolonged, he would cut into it from time to time saying '*Sursum corda!* life Eternal!'— and all recollected themselves for a moment, while he remained absorbed, his eyes raised to heaven.

On this occasion he observed how two young nuns, María Evangelista de Jesús and María de San Juan, who were spinning silk on their winders, were nervously hurrying to finish their work quickly. María de San Juan had not much left to finish and María Evangelista who noticed it, redoubled her effort to catch up with her. Fray John said to her, 'Go slowly. Do not lose your peace of soul, you will finish first.' The nuns thought it impossible, for she had much more to do than María de San Juan, who was already practically at the end of her skein. At this, however, the latter's winder went wrong; each bobbin slipped to one side; the poor nun, all confused, could not succeed in disentangling them, and meanwhile Sister María Evangelista finished. The nuns thought the prediction miraculous.

With all this they came to hold for their spiritual master the veneration they would give to a canonized saint. When he came into the cloister there were some who knelt before him and kissed his hands and feet, as did Isabel de la Encarnación. On other occasions there was competition for the remains of his meal. Watching the moment when Fray John had finished and the portresses received the earthenware dishes back, the nuns arrived as if vying with one another, ate the bread that was over, drank the water he had left in his glass as if it were holy water, and distri-

buted what he had left as if it were something holy. No one, however, touched what his companion had left, even if it was something very good.

On one of these journeys backwards and forwards between the monastery of Los Mártires and the Carmelite convent, an unpleasant incident occurred, which Fray John laughed over. It must have been in the year 1582, before a year had passed since his coming to Granada, when the nuns were still in the temporary house in the Calle Elvira. As he came down from the monastery of Los Mártires, a woman with a small child in her arms stepped in front of him. She had come to demand money for his upbringing, for she said he was the father of the child. Fray John wanted to ignore her, but the woman insisted. 'Who is the child's mother?' asked Fray John. The woman replied that it was a girl born of noble parents. 'And from where did she come to Granada?' She replied that the girl belonged there and had never been elsewhere. 'How old is the little creature?' 'Little more than a year', replied the woman. 'Well then,' concluded Fray John, 'he is the child of a great miracle, for it is not a year since I came to these parts, and never before was I here in all my life, nor for many leagues around.' He then went on his way. When he arrived at the Carmelite convent, he told the story to the prioress, Ana de Jesús, relating it 'with much laughter'.

His other activities

Fray John also had the spiritual direction of two houses of Carmelite beatas, that of the Potencianas and that of the Melchoras, the latter very near to the monastery of Los Mártires and the former somewhat farther away but on the same hill. Potenciana de Jesús, of Granada, who founded the first (she was perhaps the mulatto said to have been directed by the saint), died a holy death in 1602; the second was founded by Melchora de los Reyes and Beatriz de la Encarnación, under the title of San José del Monte. Both depended for spiritual things on the friars of Los Mártires. Their purpose was the education of noble girls. The Melchoras died out as a separate community in 1677, being fused with the Potencianas, and the latter were affiliated to the Cistercian Order in 1682, for which purpose three nuns of the Cistercian monastery of Málaga were transferred to their house, thus originating what is now the convent of San Bernardo. A stick belonging to Fray John of the Cross is venerated there.

There is, moreover, in Granada, another house of beatae, indirectly connected with the saint, that of Santa María Egipciaca, of Carmelite tertiaries (popularly known as Las Recogidas) dedicated to the teaching of children, which since 1951 has been affiliated to the congregation of Missionary Carmelite Sisters. This was founded in 1595 by the saintly man Marcos Sánchez to rescue women of evil life. He set over it as first Superior the venerable Portuguese nun, María de la Concépción, who for this purpose left the Potencianas where she had been a religious ten years. During the first years of her austere and eremitical life with the Potencianas, St John of the Cross was her director and guided her through the highest paths of contemplation. (*Editor's addition.*)

16

THE WRITINGS

It is not easy to determine which were actually the first-fruits of Fray John's pen. Perhaps even the very trace of them has disappeared. It is very probable that his first essay dates from Medina, when, still an adolescent, he was studying the humanities in the college of the Jesuits. We know that the students composed verses in Latin and Spanish as an obligatory exercise in connection with their grammar and rhetoric classes. John de Yepes would not have been an exception. Padre Bonifacio, his professor, mentioned a play composed by the students, representing the story of Absalom's revolt against his father, David, which was put on the stage at the end of an exercise which was half scholastic. The work was so well done that those present at the performance found difficulty in believing that it was the creation of the students themselves. It is not unlikely that some part of the talent of John de Yepes was concerned in this. In any case we can be certain that his first literary efforts, irretrievably lost, date from this time.

The first attempt of the existence of which we have definite knowledge dates from his novitiate year in the monastery of Santa Ana at Medina del Campo, when he was twenty-one. It was 'some songs in heroic verse in the pastoral style' and therefore well in conformity with the atmosphere of rhetoric which clung around the years he had just spent in the Jesuit college. We owe this knowledge to P. Velasco, as has already been seen. He himself, as a witness, assures us that Fray John afterwards gave an illuminating commentary on the verses. We must lament the loss of this composition of Fray John in his youth — if the reference is not to the *Spiritual Canticle* — which is unlikely for many obvious reasons, the principal being that the arguments for the one composition do not coincide with those for the other, since what he wrote at Medina was 'in gratitude for the favour the Lord had shown him

in making him worthy to be in the said religious Order [of Carmel], beneath the protection of his Most Holy Mother', a matter which does not appear, either complete or in any particular in the *Spiritual Canticle*.

The third fruit of his pen belongs to his years as a student in the University of Salamanca. It is clear that he wrote a discourse about contemplation, a discourse which his fellow-students dubbed excellent; this, too, however, has disappeared.

As mere conjecture, with considerable reasons in favour of probability, although without precise data, we can instance a further literary activity of St John of the Cross — the drawing up of the first Constitutions of the Discalced fathers which were decided upon in Duruelo. It would seem that they were chiefly the work of P. Antonio de Jesús, who was Superior of the house, but it is not believable that Fray John of the Cross had no hand in the matter, for he was the real Reformer of the Carmelite Order, however much the venerable P. Antonio may have disliked the fact.

Even when he was at the Convent of the Incarnation in Ávila as the nuns' confessor and vicar — in the years 1572–7 — not content with the sermons and exhortations with which he stimulated and directed the nuns verbally, he regularly wrote them notes and other papers with holy thoughts for their spiritual profit. Ana María, one of those favoured with these writings of the holy director, regretted years later that she had kept none of these papers which had so much enkindled her fervour on the road to heaven.

From this same period dates another composition of Fray John of the Cross — the reply to the *Vejamen*, that is, a spirituál challenge. The story of this has already been told. By great misfortune this writing of the saint is also lost and we can therefore scarcely form even a sketchy idea of its contents. The humorous and sarcastic criticism, characteristic of such challenges, with which Madre Teresa judged the papers sent in to her — criticism in which she set out, as she herself wrote, 'not to say anything good of all they have written'— is all that enables us to conjecture that Fray John's paper was on the subject of denying oneself and dying to the world in order to arrive at intimate union with God. It also appears that he discoursed upon perfect contemplation. It is a pity that St Teresa's pledge not to take seriously the judging of the papers sent in for that contest has deprived us of

objective and formal information as to what was contained in the contribution of Fray John of the Cross. It can still be deduced, behind the humoristic words of St Teresa, that it was a detailed and systematic study: 'Right good doctrine does [Fray John] give in his reply for anyone who wants to make the exercises they practise in the Society of Jesus.' Fray John had insisted on total abnegation for arriving at union with God, the *nadas* which he was later to proclaim in the *Ascent* and which even at this time — when he was quite young (he was not more than thirty-four) — he saw as the basis of the whole spiritual life. It can easily be seen that St Teresa's rejoinder — 'Dear it would cost us if we could not seek God until we were dead to the world; the Magdalene was not so nor the Samaritan woman, nor the Canaanite, when *they* found him — corresponds not to an argument but to the festive tone she set herself in her criticism. She had to put an objection to everything and would have found one in any event. It might be said that this judgement of St Teresa's, expressed in serious terms, corresponds to the other opinion she expressed, 'Fray John of the Cross is a man from heaven and divine.'[1]

The first writings of Fray John of the Cross which have come down to us are poetic in character and came out of his imprisonment in Toledo. It is now possible to determine exactly, from the history of those days of his imprisonment, which were the poems composed there.[2] They are the great starting-point of the whole of his written work, as if his major treatises, preceded by this outburst of poetry, were nothing more than the ripe fruit derived from the flower of his incomparable verses.

It was at the monastery of El Calvario, however, when he had just come out of prison, that Fray John of the Cross began the composition of his important works. At first, as he had done in Ávila, he wrote isolated sentences as notes for the nuns of Beas, whose confessor and director he was; then came the small but valuable treatise of the *Cautelas* — spiritual counsels; afterwards partial commentaries on certain strophes of the *Spiritual Canticle* and pages and even chapters of the *Ascent of Mount Carmel*. His major works, then, were a gradual development. They were preceded by small fragments which developed into chapters. It should be remarked, however, that these first writings already have a definite character about them. When the author gave shape to the greatest of his works — the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* — they were to pass into it textually, without emendation or redrafting.

It can be seen that his system was already mature. There were no hesitations; his ideas were definite, deduced from a principle. Fray John of the Cross had no need to revise his work as other doctors of the Church had had to do.

The period in Granada was in this sense the richest in his life. It was in Granada that he finished the *Ascent*, which he had begun at El Calvario and continued at Baeza. There he wrote the *Dark Night*. There, at the instances of Ana de Jesús, he completed the *Spiritual Canticle*, whose final strophes, from that which begins *O Nymphs of Judea*, he had composed, completing those written in prison, during his time at Baeza; and finally, he wrote in a fortnight, when he was Vicar-Provincial (1585–7) and at the request of Ana de Peñalosa, the *Living Flame of Love*. One interesting detail has come down to us — he wrote at least some of the commentary on the *Spiritual Canticle* on his knees.

The composition of these books was no secret matter. The religious who were his subjects, like Fray Juan Evangelista and Baltasar de Jesús, saw him write them. Neither did the author, once they were written, give them secretly and privately to those persons to whom they were addressed. When he was in Granada copies were made in the monastery, copies taken from the original autograph manuscript of Fray John of the Cross himself, and circulated among the friars. It even appears that the author himself commented to the brethren on what he had written, particularly on the book of the *Ascent*, which they found difficult to understand. An important document, now published for the first time, is here cited, revealing details not hitherto known, but of the greatest interest with relation to this problem. It is from P. Baltasar de Jesús, who was a subject of Fray John of the Cross in Granada when he was writing his books.

> He [this witness, in Granada] read the book of the *Explanation of the Verses* and of the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* in the copy written by hand by two fathers of the said Order. . . . That of the *Explanation of the Verses* was written in the hand of P. Fray Tomás de Jesús, who was then a novice in the Granada monastery, but who is now dead, and the other (that of the *Ascent*) in the hand of P. Fray Juan Evangelista, who was procurator of the said monastery. . . . He knows that the said books were by the said servant of God (Fray John of the Cross), and by no other person, because he saw him write and compose them and he heard him explain the book of the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* to the brethren, since it was so difficult to understand, and the saint himself

said that he had composed them. And that of the *Explanation of the verses on the Love of God* he had made, because Madre Ana de Jesús had asked him for it . . . , and this witness saw them in notebooks in the writing of the said saint and from there the said fathers afterwards drew on them for their devotion, as did the Discalced nuns; in particular he remembers that Madre Isabel de la Encarnación, now prioress of the convent of Jaén, made a copy. And that of the *Living Flame of Love* he made at the request of doña Ana de Peñalosa, who was then in Granada and was the saint's penitent, and this witness saw that the above-mentioned lady sent a servant of hers to get the said book which the saint had composed.

Another witness of the explanations which Fray John of the Cross gave of the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* in the monastery at Granada was P. Martín de San José, who added the detail that the saint used the sketch or drawing which he himself had made and placed at the beginning of the book.

These, however, well-known to-day, were not the only writings of the Reformer of Carmel. Madre Isabel de la Encarnación, who was directed by him in Granada — the one who had a portrait of the saint made and had in her hands the original notebooks of the *Spiritual Canticle*, as has been seen — declares that she 'also saw another small treatise of his — *Qualities of the Bird in Solitary Flight*, in which he explained to spiritual persons the solitude and attention to heaven which the soul in the way of perfection has to have'. Clearly this small treatise must not be confused with the lines the saint wrote on the qualities of the solitary bird in the *Spiritual Canticle*. Those lines, a mere half page, could not have been called a small treatise by Isabel de la Encarnación, nor would she have classed the other work as a different writing when she saw it included in the *Canticle* which she had just copied.[3]

P. Luis de San Jerónimo, a subject of Fray John of the Cross at El Calvario and in Granada, asserts that he saw 'a small treatise written in the handwriting of the servant of God, which he wrote at the request of some nuns, known as those of Armeña, in which he spoke most sublimely of faith'. It does not seem that this work is to be identified with the *Ascent* even though there are, in the latter, chapters in which the author also speaks most sublimely of faith. Padre Luis, who knew the *Ascent*, would not have set them down as different. Moreover, the *Ascent* is not a 'small treatise' written for the nuns of La Armeña, but a large book addressed to the Carmelite nuns. This need not prevent the author from

abundant use of the same concepts about faith which he sets out in the *Ascent* and in the *Spiritual Canticle*. There is, however, no reason to suppose that we are not dealing with a different treatise which has not come down to us.

The academic and literary activity of Fray John of the Cross did not come to an end in Granada; although with considerable interruptions, with 'great breaks', as Fray Juan Evangelista said, the saint continued writing until the end of his life. The 'breaks' must relate to the years he spent in Segovia, a period for which we know of no writing on the part of Fray John. In La Peñuela, however, practically on the eve of his death, we see him composing a book on *The Miracles of the Images of Guadalcázar*, also lost,[4] and revising his commentaries on the *Living Flame of Love;* a second revision which, by reason of its more thoughtful and orderly character, more methodical and complete than the first, which was made earlier, coincided with the psychological state of the time at which Fray John of the Cross made it.[5]

The irreparable loss of the original manuscripts of these books and of 'many other things he wrote', as P. Juan Evangelista said — manuscripts which, as long ago as the seventeenth century, shortly after the saint's death, the diligent P. Andrés de la Encarnación could not find when he searched for them in the archives of the Order — dates from the last days of the life of their author himself. We can even fix the date of their disappearance — it was in the last months of 1591. We possess the manuscript evidence and autograph of a nun of Granada, Madre Agustina — it was she who destroyed many of them, to avoid their falling, as incriminating evidence, into the hands of the most violent persecutor Fray John of the Cross had, his son in the Reform, P. Diego Evangelista.

Against the opinion of some of his contemporaries and of certain ill-informed authors of the twentieth century who thought St John of the Cross a single and isolated pillar in mystical literature — having no contact with the writers who had preceded him, his work exclusively the fruit of a miraculous spontaneity, a fusion of the excellence of his personal qualities and an inspiration from heaven which put the concepts in his mind and the words on his pen — to-day the names and books which influenced him can be listed, not, indeed, as materials which he had at hand at the time of composing his works but as elements which had earlier concurred in his cultural formation. The almost total

absence of precise quotations which we observe in his writings — with the exception of those from Holy Scripture — is a proof that he had not at hand the books or authors he refers to. His quotations are made from memory, at times from texts taken from the lessons and homilies of the Breviary. We have, moreover, positive evidence — that of his companion and secretary, Fray Juan Evangelista, who saw him write in Granada almost the whole of his books. 'For none of these books,' said P. Evangelista after speaking of Fray John's four great works, 'or for many other things he wrote . . . , did I ever see him open a book, nor did he have any in his cell, apart from a Bible and a *Flos Sanctorum*.' 'At the time he composed these works,' he said in another declaration, '*generally* he had no book, but all he wrote there he wrote from his experimental knowledge.' Fray Juan Evangelista was not the only witness. P. Baltasar de Jesús, also a subject of Fray John of the Cross in Granada, tells us: 'At the time he wrote a great part of them, which was in Granada, this witness saw that the holy Fray John of the Cross had no books in his cell other than the Breviary, and the Holy Bible the cell had its cross.'

This, however, does not mean that Fray John of the Cross did not read. P. Juan Evangelista himself asserts that 'He was very fond of reading St. Augustine's work *Contra haereses*.' This volume of St Augustine was sometimes seen in his cell by the side of the Bible and the *Flos Sanctorum*. Above all, however, he made use of the common store of books. When he had finished using the book he needed, he returned it to the monastery library. In actual fact, then, this was the real source that Fray John used for all his books.

When we want to determine the influences present in his books, however, we should go back to his previous formation, more than to any immediate handling of other authors when he wrote. This formation was full and complete, as his studies in the University of Alcalá and his connection with the University of Baeza demonstrate. 'He was a man with a very good knowledge of scholastic theology', Juan Evangelista testified, 'and was outstanding in positive theology; in scholastic theology this witness saw him argue many times with learned men, when he showed his thorough knowledge of it.'

The historical data, unfortunately quite inadequate to the importance of the fact, have already been mentioned in their respective places in this study: the Doctrine College and the Jesuit

College in Medina del Campo; the University and the College of San Andrés in Salamanca. . . . From the literary point of view, more detail can be given. Fray John's own books, on an internal and comparative analysis, will partially give us what the historical data have concealed from us. There already exists a series of studies devoted to this problem, with results which are increasingly fuller, more accurate and satisfactory. Initiated by Baruzi in his *St Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique* (1924) and continued by the present writer in the two volumes *San Juan de la Cruz, su obra científica y su obra literaria* (1929), this problem of the antecedents of Fray John's written work has made a final and notable advance, although in relation to the literary part alone, in Dámaso Alonso's work *La poesía de San Juan de la Cruz* (1942).[6] With absolute certainty in some cases, with strong probability in others, with well-founded conjecture in many more, we can point to books and texts which left an imprint of their doctrines, images or expressions on the works of St John of the Cross. Some were quoted explicitly by him, such as Dionisius the Areopagite, St Augustine, St Gregory, St Thomas, St Bernard, Boethius, Boscán, and Madre Teresa; others, such as John Baconthorp, Tauler, Ruysbroeck and the popular *cancioneros* — collections of songs and poems — without explicit quotation provide us with coincidences which, through their repetition and detail, cannot be explained as a mere chance identity of concept and expression, but are an indication of books which Fray John of the Cross handled with predilection at different times in his life and which left their mark on his mind.

It should, however, be noted that all this was indirect material, indirect and of small account in his work, which is not explained by it so far as the substance is concerned. The nerve structure and even the details of his teaching must be sought in his own spirit, for his is a work which before all else is born of personal experience. This is the element pointed out by the author himself. Apart from sacred Scripture, on which as a good theologian he bases the most solid confirmation of his teachings, he does not instance any other source for his work than experience, both his own and that of others, joined with the necessary knowledge to interpret it and appreciate at their just value all the elements which enter into it.[7]

17

JOURNEYINGS IN ANDALUSIA

In the spring of 1585 Fray John entered upon a period of extraordinary activity, which was to last, with short intervals, until the summer of 1588. It began with a journey from Granada to Lisbon, to attend the Chapter convened by Padre Gracián for the election of new Superiors of the Reform. The route he took passed through Seville.

On 10 May he was already in the Portuguese capital, one of the thirty fathers of the Chapter who composed the assembly, and on the 11th he was elected diffinitor.[1] The other three so elected were Padre Gracián, Antonio de Jesús and Gregorio Nacianceno. As P. Antonio was unwilling to accept the office, P. Juan Bautista, who had come to the Chapter as prior of Málaga, was elected in his stead. The election of the Provincial followed immediately — it was Padre Doria, who had been proposed by Padre Gracián. When comments were made about the election afterwards and P. Jerónimo was rejoicing that the candidate of his choice had been elected, Fray John of the Cross said to him in prophetic tones, 'Your reverence is making Provincial of someone who will take the habit away from you.'[2]

Apart from this, all that is known of the part Fray John played in the Chapter was his insistence on what had already been proposed, without result, at Almodóvar — that there should be no re-elections. As on the earlier occasion, however, his proposal was not acceptable to the fathers of the Chapter. The circumstances, moreover, were not ripe for major decisions, for the new Provincial was absent in Italy, since he was prior of Genoa, and it was essential to wait until he returned to Spain and could preside over the sessions. The Chapter, then, was suspended and P. Ferdinando de Santo María commissioned to carry the report of the election to Padre Doria, to prepare for his coming to Spain and to remain in Genoa to replace him if it were necessary.

During his stay in Lisbon Fray John of the Cross went out walking on the shore of the estuary near the Altarazanas. He took his Bible and there, alone, face to face with the immensity of the Atlantic, he read and gave himself up to mystical contemplation. P. Agustín de los Reyes, also a father of the Chapter, came across him there unexpectedly one day. P. Agustín invited Fray John to come with him to see Sister María de la Visitación, a nun of the Dominican covent of the Anunciata, whose prodigies held everybody in admiration, so that they spoke with amazement of the marvels which were realized in her. She had wounds in her hands, feet and side. It was said that in her head she felt the pain of the Crown of Thorns whenever the bell rang for vespers. Even raptures and suspensions in the air were spoken of, whilst her body was surrounded by a mysterious light. All this had already been approved by eminent men as coming from a good spirit. Fray John of the Cross, however, who, without having seen the nun, had already formed his opinion, said in answer to P. Agustín's invitation: 'Go away from here? Why should I want to go and see a fraud? Keep quiet, and you will see how our Lord will expose it.' While P. Agustín de los Reyes went to see the nun with the wounds, Fray John of the Cross remained alone, Bible in hand, on the sea shore.

This was not the only invitation he received to go to the Anunciata convent. As he was leaving Granada, religious and secular persons, among the latter the Licentiate Juan de Morillos Osorio, a judge of the Chancellery, urged him emphatically to do so. It even came to be thought rather absurd to go to Lisbon and not visit the nun with the wounds. The Chapter fathers, in particular, urged him to go, they had all been to see her. Some, like P. Ambrosio Mariano, spoke in praise of her and regretted that Fray John should refuse to go. Such an attitude even irritated them and one day P. Ambrosio Mariano, losing patience, said to him, 'She is not of your spirit and that is why you do not want to see her.' Meanwhile the fathers of the Chapter, some one day and some another, all went down to the Anunciata convent. There were some who boasted of obtaining some relic from the nun. Fray John of the Cross remained unmoved at their continual insistence that he should go, and, to the astonishment of everybody, left Lisbon without having crossed the threshold of the Dominican convent.

On his return to Andalusia, he learnt that his *socius*, P. Barto-

lomé de San Basilio, had come back loaded with relics — pieces of cloth dipped in her blood, small phials full of water from her hands, pictures of the wounds — and he made him throw them all away. When he arrived at his monastery of Los Mártires, the friars hastened to inquire about the nun and to ask him for relics. 'I did not see her or want to see her,' he replied, 'for I should think my faith in a sorry state if I thought it would grow one iota by seeing things like that.' Later, when the fraud was discovered and made public by the Inquisition, Fray John spoke with greater freedom and the friars heard him relate in the *huerta* at Granada, by the pool, how he did not go to see her because he knew that she was moved by no good spirit, although he did not want to say this publicly lest he should discredit her.

He did not return to Granada directly. While he was still in Lisbon he received a letter from the nuns at Málaga telling him of an unfortunate accident which had thrown the community into consternation. Sister Catalina Evangelista, niece of the Mother Sub-prioress, María de Jesús — both had been brought to that foundation by Fray John himself — had lost her reason and thrown herself through a window, falling to the ground. When Fray John got as far as Seville, in company with P. Antonio del Espíritu Santo, he left at once for Málaga with the purpose of consoling the nuns.

Málaga was one of his favourite convents. He had founded it personally in February of this same year, 1585, with nuns specially chosen by him from the convents at Beas, Granada and Caravaca and he cherished them and looked after them as his dear daughters.[3] They knew very well what they had in Fray John of the Cross. Apart from the fact that they had known him in earlier days, they had recently experienced his help on the journey they made with him coming to Málaga to make the foundation. When María de Cristo's mount, frightened, began to bolt, leaping and prancing, and threw the Madre, who fell head forward on a sharp rock, all stopped in alarm and ran towards the nun, who was lying senseless on the ground. There was a large stain of blood on the stone. When Fray John arrived, he placed his hands upon her, cleaned the blood off with his own handkerchief, and María de Cristo began to recover consciousness. In a short time she was completely restored. They set her on the mount again and were able to continue their journey. This had occurred on 7 February. Now in the beginning of summer the Father of the

Reform came to sympathize with them over Sister Catalina Evangelista's misfortune and he transferred two other nuns from Caravaca to help them — Ana de la Encarnación and María de San Pablo. Madre Ana de la Encarnación did not reach Málaga, for as she passed through Granada they elected her Sub-prioress of that house. Antonia del Espíritu Santo, however, came in her place.

While this was happening, Padre Nicolas de Jesús María Doria, elected Provincial in Lisbon, arrived in Spain and convened a Chapter at Pastrana for 17 October. Fray John thus had little time for rest in his monastery of Los Mártires at Granada, for at the end of July or beginning of August he had to set out for Castile. He was accompanied by P. Luis de San Jerónimo, a former subject of his at El Calvario and now one of his community at Granada. They spent no less than two whole months on the way, an unconscionable time even taking into consideration that it is a journey of more than two hundred and fifty miles. There was, however, a reason for the delay. Fray John wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to go to Caravaca and they went straight there, with the intention of continuing on to Madrid and Pastrana. When they were in Caravaca, however, Fray John received a letter from a father at Baeza, in which he asked him to return there before going on to Castile, for a grave matter required his presence. Fray John and his companion thus turned back, over a bad road of just over a hundred miles, to the Colegio de San Basilio. He was informed of what had happened and saw that it was unimportant — they had sent for him unnecessarily. He did not make a trouble of this, however, but in a fatherly way rebuked the religious who had seen a fault where there was none and quietly resumed the journey towards Madrid and Pastrana. P. Luis de San Jerónimo did not hear an idle word or a useless conversation from Fray John during the whole long journey of more than two months. He went to confession to P. Luis during the journey, and the latter, in the absence of matter for absolution, suggested there might be some lies he had told as a child of which he could accuse himself, for, even though he had weighed his imperfections well, the confessor could not consider them even as venial sins.

Fray John was already familiar with the landscape of Pastrana — the bare, whitish hills, the hermitage of San Pedro made into a church, the orchard with its view to the south towards the banks

of the Tagus. He could recall those days of 1570 and 1571 when he was master of novices, when he was still living in the caves in the rock and the subjects who were now going to meet in Chapter and rule the destinies of the Discalced Reform were being formed. . . .

Since the diffinitors had already been elected in Lisbon — Fray John, it will be remembered, was second diffinitor — the Chapter confined itself to dealing with problems which concerned the Reform and to hearing the projects of the new Provincial. Padre Doria, in view of the considerable extent to which the monasteries of Discalced friars had multiplied, a thing which made government by a single Provincial-Superior difficult, proposed the division of the Reform into four districts or semi-provinces, at the head of which should be placed a diffinitor who should be Vicar-Provincial. Old Castile and Navarre would form the first province, New Castile the second, Andalusia the third, and Portugal the fourth. Of the latter he named P. Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios Vicar-Provincial, of Old Castile and Navarre, P. Gregorio Nacianceno, of New Castile, P. Juan Bautista. He assigned Fray John of the Cross to Andalusia.

The Provincial explained his plan of government. Reacting energetically against the compromising softness of the previous Provincial, Jerónimo Gracián, P. Doria gave out a stirring call to observance in a striking discourse which made an impression on the fathers of the Chapter.

> Strict observance, fathers [said the Provincial in the presence of his brethren, who trembled as they listened to him] strict observance. For we are losing [ground] very fast as your reverences can easily see. . . . I should not, fathers, be acting according to my conscience if I did not repeat this to you many times. All must understand that this is to be my language, this my care, this my enterprise. I trust in God that, even after I am dead, my bones, knocking against each other in the tomb, will cry out, 'Regular observance, Regular observance'.

With this watchword the father of the Chapter left Pastrana, and Fray John returned to Andalusia, now Vicar-Provincial. Well received by all, he began to exercise his office, visiting the monasteries and carrying out Padre Doria's instructions with regard to observance. There were small irregularities to correct, particularly in Seville. Certain young preachers — the names of two of them are known, Diego Evangelista and Francisco

Crisóstomo — who were outstanding in the pulpit, spent whole periods away from the monastery. Fray John recalled them to attention, pointing out the undesirability of their conduct and insisting that they should lead a life of greater retirement in conformity with the demands of the Discalced Carmelite spirit. It is clear that they did not take the Vicar-Provincial's admonitions well and remained full of resentment against him — a resentment which was to last for years — with the hope of revenge, which they were to achieve years later, each one in his own way, P. Diego by setting on foot a defamatory process with the motive of expelling Fray John from the Reform, and P. Francisco Crisóstomo, prior of Ubeda in 1591, by cruelly embittering the last days of the Father of the Reform.

The jurisdiction of the Vicar-Provincial covered many leagues and he had to traverse the whole province at least once a year in an official visitation. He had monasteries in Granada, El Calvario, La Peñuela, Málaga, Caravaca, Seville and Guadalcázar. He also had to attend to all the houses of nuns, who were, without exception, under the direct and total jurisdiction of the Order. He was thus obliged to cover the whole of Andalusia and part of the kingdom of Murcia.

Fray John of the Cross sometimes travelled on foot for short journeys, or on a donkey or mule when the road was longer. He took little baggage and although some father or lay-brother accompanied him, he did not take more than one beast, on which they rode in turn. If the journey were very long, instead of a donkey, which would not stand the strain, he took a mule with a pack-saddle. Seated on it, without stirrups, he sometimes read the Bible, at other times sang hymns to our Lady, the Psalms of David or verses of the Song of Solomon. At intervals he gave himself to deep prayer. There were times when he gave himself up to it so much that, completely absorbed, he would fall from his mount at the slightest stumble on the part of the animal. P. Diego de la Concepción, who accompanied him as secretary to certain foundations such as Málaga, and who observed this on many occasions, tried to keep at his side to prevent him from falling.

The vicissitudes which occurred in the inns and along the roads were many. He always left behind him, however, an imprint of sanctity, which even those farthest away from a perception of spiritual things could sense.[4] One day shortly after Fray John had left an inn where he had stopped for a few moments to feed the

donkey, P. Jerónimo de la Cruz passed that way. The innkeeper asked him what friar that was who had called earlier and stopped to give his mount its food. P. Jerónimo asked him why he was inquiring. 'Because he is certainly a saint', replied the innkeeper. Those who were in the inn declared that that was the impression he had made on them, too.

Far from taking these journeys as recreation, so far as his own person was concerned, Fray John inexorably maintained during them the same spirit of penance in food and mortification of the body as in the cloister. He slept on the ground on a blanket, refusing the offers of bed and bed-clothes which travellers at the inns or mule-drivers made him, and reproved P. Juan Evangelista because he had ordered some trout which the innkeeper's wife had offered him at a low price. On the other hand, on another occasion it was P. Evangelista's turn to scold him, because he had seen his breeches made of finely knotted esparto grass. He asked him how it was he was wearing that penitential garment on a journey — a thing which he could not in conscience do when he was so broken in health. 'Be silent, my son,' replied Fray John, 'let the luxury we have of riding instead of walking be sufficient; we cannot have rest and ease always.' He knew, however, how to make exceptions at the proper moment. When they came from Málaga to Seville, they found nothing to eat in the inn, not even bread with a little wine. Brother Martín de la Asunción who was his companion informed him of the situation. They had just decided to fast of necessity when a gentleman came up and hastened to invite them to dine, not knowing what had occurred. 'To-day', he said to them, 'you cannot refuse to be my guests and eat with me.' Fray John did not have the slightest scruple. He accepted and they dined very well at the expense of the gentleman, who, according to Brother Martín, had a very good store of provisions.

Another day they were riding from Jaén to Bujalance. The way wound in and out, on the edge of the sierra, a likely place for an attack by robbers and evil men. It seems that Fray John thought of this. 'If some enemies should now come forth and ill-treat us, giving us blows and other kinds of maltreatment, how would your charity bear it?' he said to Brother Martín at his side. 'With the favour of God, our Lord, I would bear it in patience', replied the lay-brother. Fray John, astonished at that expression of perhaps pathetic resignation, replied to him energetically:

'And you say it now with that lukewarmness and not with a most burning desire to suffer martyrdom for our Lord Jesus Christ? We ought to persuade them to give us more and greater mortifications for Christ, our Redeemer.'

Fray John made another journey to Bujalance, this time from Córdoba. On this occasion also his companion was Brother Martín de la Asunción. Having left Córdoba behind them, they arrived at the hamlet of Alcolea, near the bend in the Guadalquivir, which comes down making its way to the rich fertile plain of Córdoba, when a woman came out to the door of the inn making provocative signs to the men who were there. At this moment the Discalced friars came up. Fray John confronted her and rebuked her sternly. He told her her conduct was shameful and that she should think that Jesus Christ had redeemed her soul with his blood; that she should amend and pull herself up. The woman stood still for a few moments looking at Fray John and then fell senseless to the ground. Some of the bystanders threw water in her face, while others took her pulse, giving her up as dead. After a time during which she remained unconscious and with distorted features, she came to her senses, crying out for confession and saying she wanted to be good. Padre Fray John consoled and exhorted her, giving her a scrip to take with her to Córdoba when she should go to the Discalced friars' church to confession. She did so and completely changed her life. In after years she could be seen, married now and living in Córdoba, wearing the Franciscan tertiary habit, her waist girded with a rope of esparto grass, leading an exemplary life of virtue and recollection.

On another occasion — the time and place are unknown — Fray John was tempted by another loose woman. He was alone in a room of the house where he was lodged when a woman entered to solicit him. In the face of Fray John's refusal, the woman threatened to denounce him if he did not consent to her desires. 'That does not matter to me', he replied, and sat down in a corner remaining there until she desisted from her proposals, tired of importuning him.

Fray John, with Brother Martín, stopped at the inn of Benalúa between Granada and Jaén just when two men were fighting furiously at the door, drawing their knives. Blood was already flowing from one of them who had been wounded in the hand. Fray John rode up to them and cried out, 'By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, I order you not to fight any more,' and he

threw the hat he was carrying in his hand between the combatants. As if by magic, the two men stopped quite still, looking at one another. Fray John got off his mule, made them embrace and even persuaded them to kiss each other's feet as a sign of pardon. The people of the inn, who had witnessed the whole scene and who before Fray John arrived had vainly tried to reconcile the two quarrellers, took it as a miracle.

On these journeys they often came across rivers in spate, with fords whose beds were uneven. As they came from Castile to Andalusia, accompanied by Brother Pedro de la Madre de Dios, they came to a river whose waters, in flood, cut off their passage. Four mule-drivers, afraid to cross such a swirl of waters, were waiting on the bank until the river should subside. Fray John, however, could not wait and, leaving Brother Pedro, plunged into the stream on his mount. A piece of driftwood carried down by the current got entangled in the mule's legs and threw him and Fray John into the river. He succeeded, however, in getting over to the other bank — it seems that the Blessed Virgin pulled him out by the corners of his cloak — and called to Brother Pedro not to pass until the current subsided. Meanwhile he made his way to the nearest inn, which was about two miles away from the river. When he arrived, a man who had been thrust through with a dagger by the innkeeper's son lay dying. He was an apostate and said so, shouting it out. The father heard his confession, telling him that he should be quiet for the good name of the religion to which he had belonged, and two hours later he died repentant. Fray John then thought that the strong impulse to cross the river which he had experienced must have come from God. He would not otherwise have been able to arrive in time to help the poor victim to make a good death. This was what Fray John himself told Brother Martín de la Asunción on another journey they made together from La Manchuela to Jaén.

Once, overtaken by darkness along a road, he fell over a precipice. Supported as if by a mysterious hand, he managed to cling to some shrubs and climb up to the road again unharmed. When a few days later he went to the convent of the Discalced Carmelite nuns where Ana de Jesús was — it is not known whether this was Granada or Beas — she asked how the journey had gone and if he had not found himself in great danger. 'Why do you say that?' replied Fray John. Ana de Jesús told him how, when she was at prayer and imagined in her heart that he was in grave

peril, she had recommended him fervently to our Lord.[5] When Fray John told her what had happened at the precipice, they compared the day and the hour and saw that they coincided exactly. Fray John limited himself to saying, 'Then it was you who took hold of me.'

Brother Pedro de la Madre de Dios shared with Brother Martín de la Asunción the honour of accompanying the Vicar-Provincial on his journeys. As the three of them were coming from Córdoba — the point they were making for is not known, probably in the direction of Jaén or La Manchuela, to judge by the place where the incident happened — when they were near the river Salado, which passes below Porcuna on its way to the Guadalquivir, as they came down one of the many slopes, for the country about here is very hilly, Brother Pedro began to run. The Father-Vicar and Fray Martín de la Asunción, who saw their companion running down hill, remained behind. In the midst of his course, however, Brother Pedro fell headlong. Brother Martín began to laugh. 'Do not laugh,' Fray John said to him, 'for our brother has done himself much harm.' When they got to the place where he had fallen and dismounted, they found that his right leg was broken and badly crushed, the bones forced apart, although without any external wound. Fray John healed him, set him on the mule and they continued the journey. When they got to the first inn, which was near Las Villares, they stopped to have a meal. As Brother Pedro was preparing to get down from the mule, Fray John said to him, 'Wait, brother, we will take you down from this mule so that you do not hurt yourself.' 'Father,' replied the brother, 'I am all right now, for I have no pain at all.' He then got down of his own accord as if nothing had happened to him.

It was the beginning of May 1586. The flowers in the fields and gardens, at the gratings and in the patios in Andalusia were a blaze of colour. Fray John of the Cross had come to Córdoba, in his capacity as Vicar-Provincial, to make a foundation of Discalced friars in the city of the Caliphs. The dean of the cathedral, don Luis Fernández de Córdoba y Mendoza, future bishop of Málaga, gave the Provincial hospitality in his house while the negotiations for the foundation were being concluded. Fray John's virtue soon made an impression and the dean was in admiration. From the tone of his guest's conversation, from his acts, even from his least movement, he was convinced that he had a saint in his house, as he was to declare later.

The bishop, don Mauricio de Pazos, authorized the foundation at the hermitage of San Roque. It was in the centre of the city, to the north-west of the wonderful mosque, now converted into a cathedral, and was under its ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Fray John purchased some adjoining houses which were to serve as a monastery and to enlarge the hermitage, and on 8 May, which that year was the first Sunday after the Ascension, the foundation was opened with full solemnity in the presence of all the clergy and the confraternities. The Blessed Sacrament was brought from the principal church, the streets were gay with hangings as on great feasts and the people were in festive attire. It seemed like the feast of Corpus Christi, as Fray John was to say afterwards.

'The house is situated in the best part of the city.' It was a typically Córdoban street — small whitewashed houses, windows with gratings crowned with flowers, Andalusian patios. When the monastery was finished, its stone doorway with trilobate arch in the shape of a basket-handle would face towards the north. Within there was a fine square patio with double Roman arches, supported by twenty round stone pillars. Six small escutcheons of the Discalced Carmelites showed up brightly above the frontal arches. Around the patio were the cells and the church, which was on the western side.[6]

Fray John did not stay many days at the hermitage of San Roque, for in the middle of May, five days after the foundation was opened, he was already writing from Seville to the prioress of Caravaca, Ana de San Alberto: 'I am now in Seville, for the transfer of our nuns, who have bought some very fine houses which, although they cost almost fourteen thousand ducats, are worth more than twenty thousand. They are already in them and on St Barnabas' day the Cardinal put the Blessed Sacrament there with much solemnity.' The transfer of the nuns was not, however, the only matter which had brought him to the Andalusian capital. Before he left it he intended to found a new monastery of friars in the centre of the city, since that of Los Remedios was on the other side of the Guadalquivir. From Seville he wanted to go and found another in Ecija before 24 June. Neither of these two foundations came into being at that time, without its being possible to determine the reason.[7]

From Seville he set out on the return journey to Córdoba, his most recent foundation, where the friars were still in the full process of putting the house into condition. The route lay through

Carmona, Ecija, Guadalcázar to Córdoba. This very route, although in the reverse direction, was the one to be followed some days later, as we shall see, by Brother Martín and seven novices, with a lay-brother, coming from Córdoba to Seville. It was the only possible route at that time.

In Guadalcázar, a picturesque little village, set on a hill at the left of the Guadalquivir, about ten miles before one reaches Córdoba coming from Seville, the Discalced friars had had a monastery since 24 March 1585. It had been founded by Padre Gracián and Fray John of the Cross had been the one who signed the deeds in 1586. Here Fray John fell ill. It was a serious illness with severe pain in the side and an abscess in one lung, which the doctors said was as good as finished. The patient, however, said to Brother Martín who was with him: 'The hour of my death has not come, whatever the doctors say; I shall certainly suffer much in this illness but I shall not die of it, for the stone for such a holy edifice is not sufficiently well polished.' When the brother came to apply some oil as lotion prescribed by the doctors for the kidneys, he found a chain around his waist with the links embedded in the the flesh. Brother Martín insisted on its removal and Fray John consented on condition that he kept the secret. As he pulled it away from himself much blood came out.

As soon as he was better, he continued the journey to Córdoba. There he found more novices than could fit into the small monastery under construction and he arranged that they should be sent to Seville. Two were able to remain in Córdoba. The prior, Fray Agustín de los Reyes, placed there by Fray John on the day of the monastery's foundation, asked him to leave the two richest, that they might help the poverty of the house under construction. The Vicar-Provincial's reply is not known, but the fact is that he left the two poorest, sending the rest to Seville. He gave Brother Martín instructions to take them there, but he did not give him provisions for the journey and the brother pointed this out. 'Have great confidence in God our Lord,' replied Fray John, 'and his Majesty will remedy it.' Brother Martín insisted. If it were for himself alone, he would ask for nothing, but there were nine going — himself, seven novices and a lay-brother — and would it not be too much to trust it all to Providence? Fray John gave orders for half a dozen loaves and some pomegranates to be put in the saddle-bag, and with this Fray Martín, the seven novices and the lay-brother set out.

Their first halt was at Guadalcázar. The lord of the place and founder of the monastery, who saw them arrive, asked Brother Martín the purpose of their journey. He said he was going to Seville to take the novices. 'Your reverence must be carrying a good purse,' don Antonio Fernández de Córdoba then said. The brother replied that he was carrying neither purse nor money; all he had was confidence in God and in Fray John of the Cross, who had assured him when he left Córdoba that he would lack nothing by the way and would return with more than he brought. The lord of Guadalcázar shortly sent him two doubloons and Brother Martín continued his journey with the novices. They went to Ecija. In an inn they were entertained by a gentleman of Santiago; in Fuentes a lady sent him fifty reals; just beyond Carmona, a gentleman who was travelling with a great suite of carriages entertained them and gave them mounts so that they should not arrive at Seville so tired, also giving them eleven pieces of eight.[8] When, after leaving the novices, Fray Martín returned to Córdoba and presented himself to the Vicar-Provincial, giving him an account of how things had gone on the journey, he handed him three hundred reals which he had over, although he had left without any. Fray John of the Cross, however, did not congratulate him on this. 'More holy and with less money' he told the brother he would have liked him to come. He even scolded him because he thought he had begged on the journey.

The following incidents are clearly to be linked with this stay of Fray John in Córdoba. The workmen who were constructing the monastery were trying to pull down a wall which was in the way of the enlargement of the church. They had already loosened the foundations. They attached some ropes to the wall and wanted to make it fall on one side and all at once. It leaned, however, to the opposite side, was too strong for them, and collapsed on to one of the buildings, shattering it. In the building was Fray John of the Cross. Friars and workmen, horrified, ran to extricate him from among the ruins, thinking he must be dead. When, by dint of removing stones and earth, they succeeded in freeing the building, they found Fray John laughing, huddled in a corner, saying he had had great support, because the Blessed Virgin of the White Mantle had protected him.

On another day, on the occasion of a religious feast which was being celebrated in the chapel, one of the fathers was preaching and commenting on the gratitude the Reform should feel for its

benefactors and how much it should pray for them. Even a small jar of olives they were given was mentioned in the presence of the community, that they might pray for the donor. It seemed to the Vicar-Provincial who was present that that was equivalent to telling the faithful that they should give them alms and in the evening he corrected the preacher. 'That is not matter for the pulpit,' he said, 'but, rather, words burning with the love of God; for those things will come along when our Lord sends them.' He said something similar to the father prior, Fray Agustín de los Reyes, who suggested to him that he should make known the poverty in which the community was living, so that people should be moved to help them.

From Córdoba, Fray John had to undertake a fresh journey, longer than those necessitated by the visitation of the monasteries of Andalusia. He had been summoned by Padre Doria to a meeting of diffinitors, which had been planned for some time and was to be held in Madrid on 13 August. It was trying weather for so long a journey, over roads burnt by the sun. Andalusia, La Mancha, New Castile. . . . Fray John of the Cross, broken in health, could not stand up to it and fell ill at Toledo. By 13 August, neither he nor Padre Gracián had arrived at Madrid. The absence of Padre Jerónimo was interpreted as a sign of lack of respect towards Padre Doria and the diffinitors, and that of Fray John, whose arrival in Toledo was not yet known, was attributed to the fact that he did not want to intervene in the unpleasant business of Madre Teresa's great friend. The meeting began by electing, as substitutes for the two absent friars, Padres Ambrosio Mariano and Juan Bautista, known as 'el Remendado', priors of Madrid and Pastrana respectively, and proceedings began on the 13th. On 14 and 15 August there were no sessions and on the 16th, when they met again, Fray John of the Cross was present. The exact date of his arrival at Madrid is not known, but it must have been the 14th or 15th. Perhaps he even arrived, still ill, on the 13th and that was why there were no sessions on the 14th and 15th, in expectation of his being better and able to be present at the council. In any event on the 16th the sessions began again, he was present at them and signed the acts.[9]

The meeting, although with an interruption of ten days — from the 19th to the 28th, both inclusive — lasted until 4 September. Important decisions were taken at it. Three of them in particular would be heard and felt right through the Reform, and

one of them even outside the Order: the change of rite in the liturgy, the petition for a Procurator-General for Spain in Rome and the printing of Madre Teresa's writings. Only in the first matter was there any difference of opinion. While the Father-Provincial, Nicolas Doria, and Fray Gregorio Nacianceno favoured the adoption of the Roman rite, abandoning that of Jerusalem hitherto followed in the Order, Fray John of the Cross, Ambrosio Mariano and Juan Bautista 'el Rondeño'—Juan Bautista 'el Remendado' no longer formed part of the council from the moment Fray John of the Cross appeared — defended the continuation of the rite of Jerusalem. The opinion of the Provincial, however, prevailed. He stressed the convenience of the change in assuring even more the independence of the Discalced friars and nuns, and the adoption of the Roman rite was definitely agreed. In the session of 1 September, the printing of Madre Teresa's books was decided upon.

Other decisions were also taken, among them the return of the Mother Foundress's body from Ávila to Alba de Tormes — although in this the diffinitors did no more than take knowledge of the Brief of Sixtus V ordering it — and the foundation of a monastery of Discalced friars in La Manchuela, a foundation which was entrusted to Fray John of the Cross as Vicar-Provincial of Andalusia and which was recorded in the diffinitors' register in these words: 'There was also proposed and agreed in the said meeting of diffinitors the foundation of the monastery of La Manchuela, in Andalusia, and it was entrusted to Fray John of the Cross, Vicar-Provincial of Andalusia, who without revenue and in conformity with our Constitutions accepts it and will draw up deeds and carry out the charge.'

During the meeting of the diffinitors a letter was drawn up for the General of the Order, Padre Cafardo, soliciting the approval of the resolutions taken and all the members of the council signed it. Among the signatures may be read — *Ioannes a Cruce, deffinitor.* It was dated 14 August.[10] On 4 September the meeting ended.

By this date the nuns who had left Granada to make the foundation of Discalced Carmelites in the capital city were already on their way to Madrid. Fray John went out to meet them,[11] and must have found them very near Madrid, for they arrived there on 6 September, two days after the meeting of diffinitors ended.[12]

On the way back to Andalusia Fray John stopped at Malagón.[1]

The nuns of that convent took advantage of his stay and had many individual conversations with him at the choir grating. María de San Ángelo left it only to eat and did not finally come away until after night had fallen. The nuns protested at the lateness, but the confessor said that, since he had to spend the time with nuns, he preferred not to spend it with the first who had presented herself. He spoke little and at times remained as if in rapture. 'If you want your prayer to be perfect,' he said to the nun, 'you must do as I tell you, even though it cost you much suffering and dryness, and if you do not make up your mind to this, I shall not tell you about it.' María de San Ángelo promised to do as he said, even though she should die in the attempt. He ordered her to 'examine herself three times each day and each month to spend eight days in solitude in her cell to make this examination'. With this he assured her that within two months her soul would be concerned only with God and herself. 'Father,' added the nun 'will your reverence tell me how I have to make the examination?' Fray John of the Cross told her that she should examine whether there was anything separating her from God, depriving her of the presence and intercourse she ought to have with him. She must leave contact with relatives and secular persons, examine her senses and gradually give up what she considered her rights, until she achieved a kind of living death of herself in relation to all things.

When he arrived at La Manchuela — it will be recalled that the diffinitors had commissioned him to undertake the foundation of this monastery — he signed the contract with the archdeacon, don Juan Ocón, in the presence of the notary Diego de Aranda.[14] In accordance with what was agreed at the council meeting and prescribed, moreover, by the Constitutions, Fray John did not accept the widely extended property they offered him and contented himself with some olive groves near to what was to be the monastery. On 12 October the Blessed Sacrament was put in the new house to the sound of dancing, music and flowers. Don Juan de Ocón said the Mass. Fray John of the Cross and a nephew of the archdeacon assisted him as deacon and subdeacon and the Prior of Córdoba, Fray Agustín de los Reyes, preached. Fray John appointed P. Eliseo de los Mártires who was in Baeza vicar of the new house, and leaving his *socius*, Fray Juan Evangelista, provisionally as a member of the community, he left for Granada to preside over the election of the prioress of

the nuns there, an office vacant through the transfer of Ana de Jesús to the foundation of Madrid.[15] María de Cristo was elected. She was in Málaga, having been taken there by Fray John himself when he made the foundation. To Málaga the Vicar-Provincial went, perhaps to fetch the new prioress — we know that he was there on 23 November.[16] The nuns, however, asked him most earnestly to annul the election made in Granada because they could not spare María de Cristo and, in compliance with their request, he returned immediately to Granada to hold a fresh election on 28 November. As a result, Beatriz de San Miguel, one of the foundresses, was elected and Fray John himself wrote the deed of election in the convent register with his own hand:

> On the 28th of the month of November 1586 was made the election of the prioress, sub-prioress and key-holders in this convent of San José in Granada, I, Fray John of the Cross, Vicar-Provincial, being present at the said election; and thus I give faith that the Madre Beatriz de San Miguel was canonically elected prioress, Madre Ana de la Encarnación sub-prioress, and as key-holders Sister Mariana de Jesús, Sister María de Jesús and the mother sub-prioress. In attestation of which I have signed with my name, the day, month and year as above. — FRAY JOHN OF THE CROSS, Vicar-Provincial.

He was not able to stay long in Granada. Half-way through December he had crossed Andalusia again and arrived at Caravaca. He had come for the foundation of the Discalced monastery. A small house in which some *moriscos*[17] had been living had been purchased and altered for a monastery and he took possession of it on 18 December of this year 1586. A great desire of the Discalced nuns was thus fulfilled, particularly of the Mother Prioress, Ana de San Alberto, who had repeatedly asked Fray John of the Cross for it, as Vicar-Provincial of Andalusia. On one occasion, importuned by Ana de San Alberto to make a foundation of Discalced friars there, he had promised to recommend the matter to God, at the same time charging the nuns to do the same. Fray John began to say Mass, at which all the nuns were present. When he was at the altar, Madre Ana noticed a mysterious radiance coming from the ciborium and surrounding the celebrant. The light increased in intensity in proportion as the Holy Sacrifice proceeded. At the moment of communion the Prioress observed that Fray John's face was glowing, while 'very gentle

tears' were falling from his eyes. When the Mass, which had lasted longer than usual, was over, Ana de San Alberto went to the confessional in the sacristy, found the Father already in his place, and asked him, 'What has been happening that this Mass has been so long?' 'How long have I been over it?' asked Fray John in turn. 'To enjoy the bliss of heaven, a long time is short', replied Ana de San Alberto and she asked him to tell her what had happened. 'Daughter,' the father confided to her simply 'our Lord said to me, "Tell the prioress to try and get a monastery of friars here, for I need much service from it — that I will help her." Therefore, daughter, you do what you can on your part, for our Lord will not fail you.' He advised her to get permission from the Council and the goodwill of the town. On this 18 December 1586 the desire of the Discalced nuns and the revelation made to Fray John in that Mass of glory and quiet tears was fulfilled.[18]

He returned to Andalusia but could not pass through Beas without stopping to speak of God with his daughters there. A Franciscan was preaching in the parish, which served as a church for the Discalced nuns and they in their tribune and Fray John in the church itself were present at the sermon. Suddenly the preacher in the course of his sermon turned to the nuns and said to them: 'Do not be downcast, sisters, nor take it as a trouble, if to-day you have an ignorant prelate; at another time you will have one who is not so.' The nuns trembled, but Fray John smiled calmly, taking the insulting allusion for himself. Afterwards he told the story to his friars, commenting on how well that preacher knew him.

From Beas he went to Bujalance, a large town of rich emblazoned houses, long straight streets, whitewashed walls, and an amply proportioned parish church with three naves, the principal altar-piece of which was a gift in 1573 of the bishops of Córdoba and of Tuy, the latter being a native of Bujalance. The fine Hermitage of Jesus on the delightful knolls close to the town on its eastern side was built at this time too. The exact date of Fray John's arrival is unknown, but it is clear that it was when the weather was wet and cold. From the dates which are known of his previous journey to Caravaca (18 December) and a journey he made immediately afterwards to Madrid, returning through the Murcian town (2 March 1587), we can calculate that it was at the end of December or at the beginning of January.

When he was negotiating the business of the foundation —

which was to be on the north-west of the town, in the Hermitage of the Rosary, built upon the ruins of a Mozarabic church — he received notification from Padre Doria to go immediately to Madrid. It was a cold wet day. Fray John received the dispatches at five o'clock in the afternoon and decided to start at once. The friars who were with him, afraid that his frail health would suffer some serious harm, dissuaded him, saying he ought to wait two or three days until the weather improved. He would not agree, saying he would be a bad one to counsel obedience if he did not now promptly carry out what he was ordered to do, and in the very early morning he left Bujalance for Madrid, travelling down over those rounded heights in search of the valley of the Guadalquivir.[19]

We have no knowledge of the matters which Padre Doria discussed with the Vicar-Provincial of Andalusia. On 2 March the latter was again in Caravaca signing an authorization for the Discalced nuns to 'be able to make claims before any tribunals in the matter of the houses which the fathers of the Society have taken from them'. Six days later we find him in Baeza, drawing up a document for the Discalced friars of Fuensanta, a monastery at the sanctuary near Villanueva del Arzobispo, between El Calvario and Ubeda.

A few days later he set out on a fresh journey to Castile. He was on his way to the Chapter which was to be held in Valladolid on 18 April of this year 1587. He had to arrive a few days earlier, however, because on the 7th a preliminary meeting between Provincial and diffinitors was held. He made the journey through Madrid and Segovia, accompanied, at least from Madrid, by other fathers of the Chapter. As they were crossing the Sierra del Guadarrama a storm overtook them and they arrived at Segovia in a sorry state and had to rest there two or three days. This was the first time that P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios (el Asturicense) saw Fray John of the Cross, whose life he was to write later. Fray John treated him with affectionate consideration and his future biographer never forgot it. In the morning, before leaving, when the religious were in choir, Fray John went to the door and called Padre Alonso. He spoke to him of God, of his obligation to become holy in gratitude for the vocation he had received to so holy an Order. He reminded him of his brother, P. Ferdinando de Santa María, a great religious, much beloved of Fray John. Then he embraced him, gave him his blessing and left.

Contemporaries called this Chapter in Valladolid 'the Great Chapter'. Up to that time there had been none at which the participants were so numerous — there were as many as forty-six — or composed of such outstanding subjects. It was even said that the Prophet Elias had been seen in the Chapter room, hovering in the air with his arms outstretched and his cloak spread out.

At this Chapter Fray John of the Cross ceased to be diffinitor and Vicar-Provincial and was again elected Prior of Granada. It was the third time. As was customary, kneeling before the fathers of the Chapter, he asked to be released from his office. This, however, was not granted and he returned once more to Andalusia, to rule over his monastery of Los Mártires. The *Libro de Becerro* of Granada recorded the date in its pages: 'The ninth prior was our blessed Fray John of the Cross, elected, for the third time, by the Chapter held in Valladolid, on the Sunday *Deus qui errantibus*, in the year 1587, where he had gone as Vicar-Provincial of this province of Andalusia. . . . This time our blessed Fray John of the Cross only ruled this house for one year. During that year he carved all the façade of the cloister.'[20]

Journey from Granada to Madrid

Referring to the author's opinion, contrary to all the accounts and documents which mention this journey, we believe that the illustrious biographer has fallen into two definite errors, occasioned by the incompatibility of the date on which the journey was taken and that of the meeting of diffinitors in Madrid. P. Silverio took up an identical position when faced with the same difficulty (*Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. V, p. 579). In our opinion, the earlier biographers and reports are correct. We here set out clearly the evidence, hitherto unknown.

The first mistake was to deny that St John of the Cross accompanied the nuns from Granada to Malagón. All the documents affirmed this with details leaving no room for doubt. P. Crisógono himself refers (see above, p. 241, n. 13; and MS 8568, fo. 458) to the testimony of María de San Ángelo, who asserted that she had spoken with St John of the Cross in Malagón 'when he brought Madre Ana de Jesús . . . who was going to the foundation of Madrid'. Even clearer is the evidence of the lay-sister Ana de Jesús, who went on this journey from Granada for the new foundation, and who refers to the case of Madre Jerónima and the

crossing of the Guadiana, which was before arriving at Malagón. She says:

> He made me confess a sin I committed when I was a child . . . and warned me of various difficulties I had to undergo. Being many leagues away from certain persons, he wrote to them giving them advice in their needs without their having mentioned them except to God. This I saw him do once in the case of a nun coming from Granada to the foundation of Madrid. Another time, also, on the same road, on a small hill before you get to Malagón, he made us hurry because God had shown him the soul of Madre Jerónima del Espíritu Santo who was in very great need. On arrival he told her what she was suffering from and what she had to do. She asked him how he knew this. The Saint replied with his accustomed joy — 'Daughter on that little hill God showed me the state of your soul.' He crossed the river Guadiana, from what everybody says, miraculously on a small donkey, without getting wet, although we got wet . . . and everything inside a very high cart. It seems to me I could see him sitting on the very water, his face lifted up to heaven. . . . (MS 12738, fo. 813.)

It is equally certain that he accompanied them from Malagón to Madrid, as may be deduced from the declaration of Inés de San Agustín, who said: 'I knew the venerable Father Fray John of the Cross . . . for he accompanied us when we were going to the foundation of Madrid. . . . (MS 12783 [?12738], fo. 799.) This cannot refer to the first journey from Granada, since she only made the journey from Malagón, where she joined them.

It thus seems clear that the saint made the complete journey with the nuns from Granada to Madrid in one or various stages.

From the negative position the second mistake follows, when it is said that the saint could not be in Malagón with the nuns on his way from Andalusia but on his way back. Since it has been demonstrated that he accompanied the foundresses from Granada, it cannot be doubted that he stopped with them at Malagón, as the witnesses we have just quoted indicated, referring to Marina de San Ángelo and Jerónima del Espíritu Santo, who benefited so much from this visit of the mystical doctor. It is certain, then, that they were in the convent of Malagón, from where they took Inés de San Agustín and María de Jesús, to accompany them to the foundation of Madrid.

In this case, how are we to fit in his presence, also certain, at the meeting of diffinitors? The supposition of P. Andrés de la Encarnación, referred to by P. Crisógono (see above, p. 241, n. 9)

solves the difficulty. The saint, after Malagón, went on in advance of the nuns to be present at the meeting and, when it was over, went back to meet them or to fetch them from where he had left them. It is very probable that he left them in Toledo, where we know he fell ill, and from where two other nuns came for the Madrid foundation. (*Editor's note.*)

18

RETURN TO CASTILE

MADRE TERESA wrote to Padre Gracián in March 1581:

> You must know that when I was sympathizing with Fray John of the Cross over what it cost him to find himself in Andalusia . . . before now, I told him that if God should give us a province, I would try to get him here. Now he has reminded me of my promise and is afraid they are going to elect him for Baeza. He writes me that he is begging your paternity not to confirm the election. If it is within your power it would be reasonable to grant his wish, for he has suffered quite enough.

What Padre Gracián could not or did not want to do, Padre Doria did. After eight years Fray John of the Cross found his desire to return to Castile fulfilled.

In June 1588 the Chapter General met in Madrid to set on foot the new government of the Consulta. Fray John participated as prior of Granada. The first elections, before that of the Vicar-General, were to nominate four diffinitors to preside over the acts of the Chapter, an office which only lasted a few days. Fray John of the Cross was elected first diffinitor. Afterwards they proceeded to the election of the Vicar-General and Padre Doria was elected; the six members of the Council were voted for immediately, Fray John being the third of them. He was, moreover, nominated prior of Segovia.

When on 1 August 1588 he arrived, as a member of the Consulta and prior of Segovia, to take up his new office, the Discalced friars had already been living for more than two years in the former monastery of the Trinitarians outside the city walls.[1] They had arrived on 3 May 1586. Fray John, from Andalusia, had been the initiator of the foundation. His distinguished and holy penitent of Granada, doña Ana de le Peñalosa, had consulted him about a matter which was still pending — the dispositions of the will of her husband, don Juan Guevara. It was the latter's desire

to devote his wealth to the construction of a hospital or a monastery in Segovia, his native city. Fray John advised her to found a monastery of Discalced friars and doña Ana, one of those who best knew the virtue of Fray John, had no hesitation in the matter.

When the leave of the Vicar-General, Padre Doria, was obtained, the latter entrusted the matter to P. Gregorio Nacianceno, Provincial of Castile, who immediately put the business in hand. For this reason he came to Segovia with his secretary, Fray Pedro de San José, and with P. Gaspar de San Pedro. After searching in vain for a suitable site in the city, they decided upon the purchase of the abandoned monastery of the Trinitarian fathers. In the meantime they received kindly hospitality in the house of the archdeacon, don Juan de Orozco, whom we already know from the foundation of the Discalced nuns, for he was the canon who came in that morning to say Mass in the porch converted into a chapel.

The monastery was outside Segovia, a little beyond the walls, on the other side of the river Eresma which flows north of the city. Near to the heights of Fuencisla and at the foot of the eight-sided Templar Church of Vera Cruz, it was exactly opposite the Alcázar although it looked out in the opposite direction — the Alcázar towards the east and the monastery to the west. It was a small building and the church was full of cracks. Situated at the foot of a slope, it received the dampness both from the filtrations coming from the hill and the waters of the river which passed very close. It was put into condition, however, at a certain amount of expense, and on 3 May 1586, just a year after the first steps were taken, the community was established. This consisted in the beginning of seven religious: P. Gaspar de San Pedro, who acted as vicar of the house; Fray Bartolomé de Santa María and Fray Martín de Jesús, from the monastery of Pastrana; Fray Gregorio de San Ángelo, a native of Granada, who had come from Seville; and the choir brothers Juan de San Simón, a Basque, Diego de Jesús, called *el Silenciario*, and Fray Alonso de la Madre de Dios, of Astorga, the first novice of the house. On 25 September of that same year 1586, the residence was made a priory and P. Gaspar de San Pedro who had been vicar until then was elected prior. From the first moment it could be seen that the building, which was required to be a college for twelve students in addition to the novices, was too small.

The arrival of Fray John of the Cross coincided with the raising

of the monastery to be the seat of the recently created Consulta. From then onwards there would reside there, in addition to the conventual fathers, students and novices, the Vicar-General and the six members of the Council. With this the enlargement of the house became imperative and immediate. The new prior turned his attention to the matter and decided, counting on the economic help of doña Ana de Peñalosa, to put up a new building, changing the actual site of the monastery, which was so damp and unhealthy, for another drier, some yards higher up towards the centre of the hill, though facing the same way.

The construction of the new house began quickly. In it, indistinguishable from the workmen and day-labourers who came down from the city or who, to save their day's wages, stayed to eat and sleep in the old monastery, certain of the friars also worked. The manuscript accounts in the archives of the monastery mention seven who did so. Among them the brothers Francisco and Antonio were outstanding, and what they did, on account of their previous knowledge and practice of the trade, and through their hard work, gave more result than that of many day-labourers put together.

Fray John of the Cross moved about among them all. He made no account of the fact that he was prior. With bare feet and his head uncovered, at times amid snow and hail — so frequent in the raw Segovian winter — he would go up the hill to the quarry from which the stone was hewn for the construction and direct the workers as overseer. He went up early and fasting, almost as soon as Mass was over, and did not come down to the monastery until one o'clock. Fray Pablo de Santa María, who noticed this, said in admiration of his resistance that 'he seemed to be an oak-tree'. He spent interminable hours there, working and giving encouragement. He could not disguise the joy with which he saw that the building was gradually rising. P. Juan Evangelista, who had come with him, following him from Andalusia,[2] said to him — 'Heavens, father, how fond your reverence is of staying among chalk and stones!' 'Son,' replied Fray John, 'don't be dismayed, for when I am dealing with them, I have less to trip against than when I am dealing with men.'

The care and attention the workmen received from the Father-Prior was at times miraculous. Pedro was a man who had been working in the quarry ever since the building started. One day when he was excavating a block of stone, he caught the two

middle fingers of his hand with it and crushed the bones. They were left like 'a mass of paste', according to Brother Luis who was present. At that moment Padre John of the Cross came up and asked what had happened. Pedro showed him his crushed fingers. The prior took them between his two hands, stretched them and they were completely healed. The man was able to continue his work without losing even an hour of his day's pay.

While the monastery was being constructed, six months after taking up his office as prior of Segovia, Fray John bought fresh land to enlarge and round off the *huerta*. It was he who negotiated the contract:

> For as many as shall see this written letter, we the prior and brethren of the convent or monastery of our Lady of Carmel, outside the walls of the city of Segovia, as we are joined and gathered together at the sound of the ringing of a bell, as it is our use and custom to join together for matters touching the said monastery or convent, and the said Father Fray John of the Cross, chief diffinitor and president of the Consulta of the Congregation of Discalced Carmelite fathers, Fray Antonio de Jesús, senior member of the Council, Fray Luis de San Jerónimo, Fray Juan Bautista, Fray Gregorio de San Ángelo, members of the Council of the said Congregation, and Fray Blas de San Gregorio and Fray Gabriel de San Juan, conventual friars and members of the Chapter of the said monastery, at present being gathered together for ourselves and for the others. . . . In the city of Segovia, on the twenty-first day of the month of January in the year from the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand, five hundred and eighty-nine.

The purchase of the official table was made from the municipality for twenty-four reals. If the fathers abandoned the site the twenty-four reals were to be returned to them, the site reverting to the possession of the city. Don Juan Orozco Covarrubias, whom we have already met, and don Antonio de Múgica, acted on behalf and in the name of the city of Segovia. The deed was signed on 21 January 1589, as we have seen — not on the 8th, as the historians wrote — but possession was not taken nor the boundaries determined until 4 June. We have a detailed account of the function. There were present Juan Pretel, representing the mayor of the city, who acted as notary, and Fray John of the Cross, acting in the name of the community. Fray John presented to the mayor's representative, in the presence of the notary, the documents of the contract by which the acquisition of the lands was to be effected. When its authenticity was proved, the

three went up to the *huerta*, and Juan Pretel took Fray John's hand and put it on the rocks and land purchased as a sign of his taking possession. Fray John walked over the land as a sign of ownership, threw stones from one side to the other, pulled up weeds and performed other acts which signified his right and possession. He declared that he had received the land and was remaining in peaceful possession of it, no one putting forward any objection. Then he asked that they should have this certified by the notary, and the acting mayor gave instructions to the notary accordingly, handing over the corresponding document to the Father-Prior. Juan Pretel terminated the proceedings by solemnly ordering that 'no person should disturb the possession or trouble it, under the penalties applied to violators of land and other penalties incurred by those who break in to other people's property, and assigned by authority and justice'.

The lands purchased were on the northern side of the *huerta* and included rocks where the crows had settled — a hill, sandstone in its lower part and slightly calcareous in the upper, split vertically on the south side, forming a crag with huge inaccessible clefts in the rocks. In these clefts bands of crows nested and took refuge, cawing and flying around unceasingly. Below, beyond the boundary fence, was the hermitage of La Fuencisla, with its legend of miracles from the time of the Jews.

The views from the top of the newly purchased land were magnificent. Below, some three hundred yards away at the bottom of a steep slope, was the monastery, built entirely of stone; then, on the other side of San Marcos, came the meeting place of the two small rivers, the Eresma and the Clamores, which came down from the sierra; the Alcázar rose proudly to a considerable height upon the living rock which rose out of the waters, like a ship with its prow set to the west, towards the West Indies. On the left lay the city — with its towers, stone arches and outer walls. . . . In the distance were the mountains of Valsaín, perpetually green with pine woods, and the outlying spurs of Somosierra, snow-capped for the greater part of the year.

Half-way up the rock there was a small, natural cave, low and narrow, which opened out of the living rock. It was surrounded by broom, lavender and brambles. Here Fray John of the Cross liked to come to make his prayer. The views were magnificent and there was an atmosphere of quiet and silence. The air was shot with light, the horizons stretched to infinity. Fray John

never tired of being here. The moment he was free from community exercises and his offices or occupations, he went up to the rock and retired to the little cave. A father or lay-brother went up there to fetch him when the presence of the prior was required for some piece of business. 'Leave me, for the love of God,' Fray John sometimes replied, 'for I am not in a fit state to transact business with people.' When he came down they noticed that he was so absorbed in divine things that he could scarcely attend to what was said to him. At other times, instead of going up to the rock, he went to a small hermitage hidden in the wood.[3]

This was in the day-time. At night, Juan Evangelista would come across him absorbed, his arms stretched out in the form of a cross, making his prayer beneath the trees. He was so withdrawn from the world that he would not notice the presence of his secretary, whatever the latter might do to attract his attention. At other times on those calm summer nights characteristic of Segovia, on which even to-day we can catch the murmur of the waters of the Eresma which passes so close, and the singing of the nightingales in the grove of La Fuencisla, Fray John made his prayer leaning on the window of his cell — a small window which looked out on to the country and the sky, a deep sky scintillating with lights. Many a time P. Juan Evangelista would find him praying thus. In vain he pulled him by the habit to make him come back to himself again, drawing him out of his trance. Fray John continued to remain motionless and his secretary stayed nearby, waiting until that rapture, which at times lasted until the early morning, should pass. When Fray John came to himself again and saw P. Evangelista at his side, he said to him with surprise, 'What are you doing here?' or 'What have you come for?' The effect of his prayer lasted throughout the day. Brother Bernabé de Jesús observed on one occasion that the Father-Prior, while he was walking up and down the cloister talking with a secular person, knocked the knuckles of his hands against the wall to be able to attend to the matter under discussion. He knocked them so hard and so often that the joints were dislocated.

His life, however, was not wholly one of abstraction. He had numerous and diverse occupations. Apart from the work of construction of the monastery which lasted all the time he was in Segovia, and which he was not to see finished, he had to attend to the problems of the Consulta, which in these early days of its

inception were many, urgent and complicated. When Padre Doria, the Vicar-General, was absent — by agreement of the members of the Council, from 16 September 1589 he was away visiting all the houses of the Reform,[4] a visitation which lasted three months — Fray John was president of the Consulta.[5] He made nominations, assigned the religious to their respective houses, gave decisions on matters submitted. Documents are extant which indicate the business in which he was occupied at this time. In a letter to P. Mariano, like himself a member of the Consulta but living in Madrid for he was Superior of that monastery, he mentioned some nominations he had made:

> May Jesus be with your reverence. As you know, the need for religious, on account of the number of foundations already made, is very great. It is therefore necessary for your reverence to have patience until P. Miguel leaves to wait in Pastrana for Father-Provincial, for he has then to complete the founding of the monastery of Molina. It also seemed good to the fathers to give your reverence a sub-prior; they have thus given you P. Fray Ángel because they understand that he will get on well with his prior, which is what is most important in a monastery. Your reverence should give each one his letters patent. It will also be advisable for your reverence to take great care not to allow anyone, priest or no priest, to meddle in dealing with the novices; for, as your reverence knows, there is nothing more harmful than to pass through many hands and that others should have frequent contact with the novices; and as there are so many, it is reasonable that P. Ángel should be helped and relieved, and even given authority as sub-prior as he has now been given, so that they hold him in greater respect in the house. It seems that now there is not much need of P. Fray Miguel here and that he will serve the Order better elsewhere. There is nothing new about P. Gracián, except that P. Fray Antonio is now here.
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> From Segovia, 9 November, 1588 — FRAY JOHN OF THE CROSS.

At the same time he replied to questions submitted to him by the convents of nuns, who were subject in all things to the Consulta. He sent them licences to receive novices or admit to profession. He cleared up their doubts as to points of ceremonial or legislation:

> Here is the licence for the four novices [he wrote to the prioress at Córdoba] see to it that they are pleasing to God. I want now to answer all your questions briefly — for I have little time — having first talked them over with these fathers, for our own is not here, he is away. May God bring him back again.

1. There is no longer any discipline with rods even though the office is ferial, for that went out with the Carmelite rite which only provided for it at certain times and had few ferias.

2. Secondly, do not in general give leave to all or anyone, in compensation for this or anything else, to discipline herself three days in the week, and do not in particular cases depart from what is customary. You will see what is best in the matter. Keep to what is common practice.

3. They, that is the community, should not ordinarily get up earlier than the Constitutions order.

4. Licences expire when the prelate goes out of office, and thus I now send you a fresh licence, so that if necessary the confessor, doctor, barber and workmen, can enter the convent.

5. Fifthly that, since you now have a fair number of empty places, when what you say is necessary the question of Sister Aldonza can be dealt with. Commend me to her and commend me to God. May you abide with him. I cannot write at greater length.

From Segovia, 7 June 1589 — FRAY JOHN OF THE CROSS.

At other times he had to give account to the Vicar-General, who was absent, of the resolutions taken by the members of the Council and of the carrying out of the orders the Vicar-General had given:

May Jesus and Mary be with your reverence. We were very glad to learn that your reverence arrived safely and that everything is going so well with you and with the nuncio. I hope in God that he will look after his family. The poor creatures here are well and happy. I will try to get the work done quickly, as your reverence has given instructions, although up till now the contracts [*avenidos*][6] have not come.

About receiving subjects in Genoa who do not know grammar, the fathers say that not knowing it matters little, if they understand Latin with the sufficiency that the Council requires so that they know how to construe and if they are ordained there [in Italy] with no more than this, it seems that they can be received. But if the Ordinaries there [in Italy] are not content with that, it seems that they have not the sufficiency ordered by the Council, and it would be troublesome to have to bring them over here to be ordained or taught. In truth, they would not wish many Italians to come here.

The letters will go to P. Fray Nicolas, as your reverence says. May our Lord preserve you to us as he sees necessary.

From Segovia, 21 September 1589 — FRAY JOHN OF THE CROSS.

The members of the Council, apart from the organization of the new system of government, had various tasks on their hands

— the drawing up of the ceremonial, the proper Office of the Order, the handbook for which was being prepared; the drafting and examination of the *Instruction of Novices* and the editing of the works of Madre Teresa. The part Fray John of the Cross took in all this is not clear, but it is certain that, at times president of the Consulta in Padre Doria's absence, at times as a simple member of the Council, he must have been directly concerned in it all.

Two interesting documents were issued by the Consulta in these two years. They were letters addressed to all the houses and signed by the president and members of the Council, with the exception of P. Mariano who, clearly because he was then in Madrid, did not sign the first, which was dated at Segovia 22 April 1589. Fray John of the Cross signed them both, the first in the third place, after Padre Doria and Antonio de Jesús; the second in the fourth place, after the signatures of Padre Doria, P. Antonio and Ambrosio Mariano. The first letter was 'about the blessing of vocation'; the second, 'on the new government of the Consulta'. In neither of them do we find any trace of the style or even of the doctrine of the author of the *Ascent of Mount Carmel.* Solid in doctrinal content, particularly the first, they yet lacked the *finesse* and logical brilliance which characterized the writings of the mystical doctor. It is thought that both were drawn up by Padre Doria — they contain his favourite ideas on regular observance, his rather rigid judgement, even his somewhat trite manner of expressing himself, identical with that of his other writings.[7]

At the same time that he was taking part in the deliberations of the Consulta, Fray John, as prior, was governing his monastery in Segovia. He chose a poor cell, so small that he could hardly fit into it. It was next to the choir. It had a wooden cross and a picture as its sole ornament. Its furniture consisted of a small board as a bed and another board fixed to the wall, with a hinge to let down or support it so that it could serve as a table. There was no bookshelf — only a copy of the Bible, for, when he needed any particular book, he took it from the monastery library, and once he had used it, he returned it there.

Over the door, on the outer side, there was a projecting beam. Brother Bernabé noticed that often a beautiful dove would perch on this beam. It did not coo or come down to feed with the others he looked after, nor did it ever go with them. Fray Bernabé told this to P. Juan Evangelista, P. Pedro de Santa María and

Brother Lucas de San José, who all went with him to see it. P. Evangelista asserted that he had also seen the dove in the cell Fray John had in Granada. When they said this to the prior, he answered, 'Cease talking of that.' The friars, however, took it as a thing both significant and miraculous.

As in Granada, his government was energetic but fatherly. He did not pass over in silence the faults of his subjects in regard to observance, but he corrected them in a spirit of love. On the second day after Easter, we do not know in what year, — Fray John spent the Easters of 1589 and 1590 in Segovia — a solemn Mass was celebrated, to which doña Ana de Peñalosa, her brother don Luis, and other distinguished persons of the city were invited. Fray John sang the Mass, having entrusted the sermon to a father of the monastery. When the time for the sermon arrived, they went to advise the preacher. The latter, in an ill humour, said he could not preach and they advised the celebrant accordingly. Fray John went quietly on with the Mass, and the feast ended. The prior did not even show a gesture of displeasure. He uttered not a word of reproof to the preacher who could not recover from his astonishment at his Superior's silence. A short time afterwards, however, an opportunity came for him to see some outside persons of whom he was very fond and he asked permission to do so. Contrary to his usual custom, Fray John refused. The preacher needed no more — he realized that this was the response to his attitude at Easter and admired the prior's tact in waiting for the opportune moment to make him see how badly he had behaved. He recognized his fault and showed sorrow for it. There had been no need of harsh words or of gestures of displeasure.

Another day the prior found himself obliged, in order to carry out what was prescribed in the Constitutions, to give the discipline with his own hand to a religious who was unruly. We do not know how he gave it to him, but it appears that when he finished the culprit said to him, 'I hope, Father, to see in heaven that hand with which you have given me this discipline.' This was related by Brother Lucas de San José, who was present.

On the other hand, he did not allow anyone to speak ill of the others. He defended them all. At recreation he liked to go with the lay-brothers and serving folk, with the novices and students. When the altars in the church were being arranged, he would go down to help the sacristan, delighting in the adornment of the altars and giving the sacristan encouragement. It was he who

encouraged the celebration of the liturgical feasts, particularly those of Christmas, when he rejoiced to see his friars gay and happy. It all seemed to him very little for them. P. Pablo de Santa María, who was in Segovia from the first days of the foundation, saw him take off a new and perfectly good tunic he had and give it to one of his subjects, while he himself wore an old and ragged one in the rigours of the raw Segovian winter. When the economic situation was precarious, before the religious came to lack necessities, he ordered the construction work on the monastery to be suspended, preferring to the temple of stone the *living temples*, as he called the friars, using a Pauline phrase.

With these labours of government alternated the spiritual direction of the faithful. As in Baeza and Granada, the most outstanding personalities in Segovia came to consult him, among them don Juan de Orozco y Covarrubias, archdeacon of Cuéllar and canon of the cathedral of Segovia, and the licentiate Diego Muñoz de Godoy, the Vicar-General. Don Juan de Orozco, whom we already know, saw Fray John for the first time on 19 March 1574, in the original chapel of the Discalced nuns on the day of their foundation by Madre Teresa. It was he also, as we have already seen, who in 1586 received in his house the Provincial of Castile, Fray Gregorio Nacianceno, and the two fathers who were with him, when they came to Segovia looking for a house for the foundation of the friars. On one occasion when he came down to speak with Fray John of the Cross, the latter told him in confidence that he would shortly be chosen for the episcopate. Don Juan de Orozco felt a desire for the high dignity to which he was going to be raised. Fray John, however, dissuaded him. If he accepted, he assured him that the day would come when he would repent of it on account of the great things he would have to suffer. The archdeacon did not follow his spiritual director's advice — he went to the see of Surgento and, overwhelmed with troubles, finally resigned.

Another of the spiritual sons of the prior of the Discalced friars was Doctor Villegas, the Canon-Penitentiary. He was confessor to the Carmelite nuns for more than twenty years. He was one of those who was most assiduous in going down to the Carmelite monastery to talk with Fray John of the Cross. They held their spiritual conversations in the *huerta*. Sitting on the ground, they would spend as much as five consecutive hours talking of God, without realizing how long they had been there.

Here we also meet doña Ana de Peñalosa again. We do not know when or why, but she had left Granada to come to Segovia. It may have been because she did not want to be separated from her spiritual master, wholly given up as this distinguished lady was to a life of perfection. It may also have been to be near the construction work of the monastery, the expenses of which she was paying. It is certain that she had a small house built at the side of the monastery to be nearer to the father of her soul.[8] It was not easy for the pious widow, after the six years she had spent in Granada under the sublime direction of Fray John of the Cross, to bend herself to other teaching.

She did not go to the monastery alone. She was accompanied by a niece, doña Inés de Mercado, also very virtuous, who shared with her in the spiritual teachings of the Carmelite prior. The friars of the monastery, who knew the atmosphere of sublime spirituality in which these conversations between the three were held, commented on them saying, 'Now St Jerome, St Paula and St Eustochium are together speaking of God.'

It was not only doña Ana and her niece who were looked after by Fray John — his care extended to the noble lady's servants. The prior often went to her house and there, in the presence of all the servants, talked of spiritual things and of how they had to become saints. He frequently read spiritual books to them or left them something to read in his absence. Among the servants was Leonor de Vitoria, a girl of fifteen from Beas, who went to confession to Fray John regularly and has left us these details.

His confessional was under the staircase of the old church. To it came not only those persons of distinction directed by Fray John, but a poor woman of no importance. Madre María de la Encarnación, who knew her, has not revealed her name — we know, however, that the prior gave her full attention without the slightest hurry. He was not sparing of his time, but spent whole hours with her, as if he had been dealing with an illustrious personage. From that confessional hidden under the stairs, Miguel de Angúlo, a citizen of Segovia, saw a great radiance shining out. It blinded him as he opened the door of the church and he experienced this on three occasions. One day he decided to ask the prior at the time of confession what light this was. 'Keep quiet, you silly, and don't say anything,' replied Fray John, cutting short the conversation.

Miguel de Angúlo was not the only one to observe this pheno-

menon. It was also noticed by Ángela de Alemán, who saw the radiance on the grating, and, moreover, when she got near to the confessional, perceived a strong fragrance of unknown perfumes. The case of Ángela de Alemán was public and commented on in Segovia. She was a distinguished and beautiful young woman, very fond of finery and amusements. She even bleached her hair. One day, however, attracted to Fray John's confessional by the praises the girl had heard of the holiness of the prior of the Discalced friars, she was so much impressed by his exhortations that, to the astonishment of the city who knew the life she was leading, her behaviour underwent a radical change. She was scarcely back in her house when she cut off the blond hair, put on a coarse linen veil, removed her finery, dressed in coarse dark brown serge, with a scapular, like a Carmelite, with a thick cloak, white cloth stockings and rough shoes, and gave herself up to practices of prayer and penance. She fasted on bread and water, took the discipline and spent long hours meditating in tears. She was an exceptional example of virtue for the city. It was known that this was the work of Fray John of the Cross. Ángela de Alemán frequently went down to discuss things with him and was usually accompanied by her nephew, Antonio Alemán, then a student at the Jesuit college. When, after Fray John had been transferred to Andalusia, the news of his death on 14 December 1591, in Ubeda, reached Segovia and a dirge was said at the monastery of Discalced friars, Ángela de Alemán was present, weeping inconsolably for the death of her holy confessor, whom she had seen in life, when she went to confession to him, full of radiance and with a diadem on his head.

Another conversion, less spectacular but more complicated, was brought about by the Carmelite prior at this time. It was that of a man who had bound himself to the devil by a formal pact, written on a scrip in his own blood which he gave to the devil. He was converted by hearing Fray John preach and he went to confession to him. The penitent was full of fear. He was worried about the scrip he had handed over and which, he saw, it would be impossible to recover. Fray John consoled him — he would get it away from the devil. He succeeded. One day when the saint was at prayer, the devil in a rage threw the scrip on the ground, saying that since the time of St Basil there had not been a man who had fought with him so much.[9]

The licentiate Miguel de Valverde, priest of the church there,

came from as far as Villacastín to consult him about the affairs of his soul. When he returned to Villacastín, he felt as if he had been speaking with someone from the courts of heaven.

It must not be thought, however, that he attended only to persons who came in search of spiritual direction. His office as prior obliged him to intervene in the most varied matters and he gave his attention to all of them with interest and most willingly. Such was the experience of Juan de Viana, a financier of Segovia, and Francisco de Urueña, the barber of the Carmelite friars. Juan de Viana was astonished at the kindness of the Father-Prior in dealing with him. He gave his whole interest to the business discussed, doing so with kindness and even with a certain charm of manner. All those who approached him came away from his presence feeling happy.

Francisco de Urueña is also a good witness. It was true that he charged nothing for shaving the friars, he knew that the house was poor and that the religious often lacked even necessities. Fray John, however, was full of kindness and delicacy in his regard, which he remembered with gratitude twenty-five years later. One kindness was to invite him to a meal together with his apprentice. On other occasions he gave him clothes. . . . It was always on occasions and with details which Francisco de Urueña considered miraculous. One day he came to shave the friars, determined not to remain to dinner, for he thought of the poverty of the monastery and calculated that with what they would spend on him and his apprentice two religious could have a meal. He said nothing, however, deciding to put his thought into action immediately he had finished his work. At this moment, however, Fray John of the Cross arrived and invited him to dine at the monastery. As if he had guessed his thoughts, he said that it did not matter the house being poor, there was already a meal prepared for him and his apprentice. 'Unless', the prior added, pointedly and wittily, 'you are refusing because fish does not agree with you or you do not want to eat it.' On another occasion when the barber was going to perform his office as usual, he was thinking as he walked along the road that he needed a tunic. He would have to buy one, for he could no longer do without it. He shaved the friars and when he was on the point of leaving the convent, Brother Bartolomé came out unexpectedly and gave him a new tunic of very good linen. Francisco de Urueña did not want to accept it, but Fray Bartolomé said to him: 'Take it, your

honour, for our Father-Prior, Fray John of the Cross, ordered me to give it to you and you cannot do less than accept.' The barber, accordingly, felt obliged to accept it. When in 1591 Fray John of the Cross ceased to be prior and, assigned to the province of Mexico, bade farewell to his sons in Segovia before going to Andalusia where he was to prepare his journey to New Spain, by coincidence Francisco de Urueña happened to be at the monastery shaving the friars. Fray John took leave of the barber affectionately. 'When will you be back here?' the latter asked him. Fray John answered sorrowfully that he would never return and that they would not see each other again unless in heaven.

During the work of construction of the monastery and of the enlargement of the *huerta*, the purchase of a small piece of land belonging to an inhabitant of Zamarramala, a hamlet to the north of Segovia, near to the monastery, was necessary. Fray John went to Zamarramala to transact the business with the proprietor, Antón de la Bermeja, and the contract was made. Antón de la Bermeja was a good and pious man, a Carmelite tertiary. He did not know how to thank the Father-Prior, whose presence he considered such an honour for him, and he offered him a glass of wine. Fray John refused it, but, in view of the insistence of Antón, drank a little. The pious man kept the glass as a relic. Nobody drank from it again for the thirty odd years he succeeded in preserving it. Padre Alonso de la Madre de Dios (el Asturicense) happened to see the glass and noted the reverence with which Antón de la Bermeja guarded it. When he died he left it to a relative of his who preserved it with the same veneration until one day it was broken.

As could not be otherwise, Fray John devoted a good part of his time to the direction of the Carmelite nuns. Those who were present at the foundation of 19 March 1572 already knew him by sight, for he had come from Ávila, where he was confessor at the Incarnation, and said Mass in the porch which was now converted into an oratory. His humble, penitent and recollected figure caught their attention then. In the poor habit he was wearing he looked like a young hermit. They had, however, had neither time nor opportunity to get to know the marvellous efficacy of his spiritual direction. Now they were going to experience it to the full.

He went up to the convent every week and when there was

some special reason, or they sent for him, more frequently. The convent of the Carmelite nuns was some distance away. He had to cross the San Marcos district, go over the River Eresma, climb the small but very steep northern hill of the city, leaving the Alcázar on his right. He then went through the northern gate in the city wall and arrived, by steep, narrow little streets, near the cathedral which was in the course of construction, at the convent founded by Madre Teresa and himself on that St Joseph's day in 1574. Fray John could still remember the fright the Vicar-General gave them that morning and the words he said to him in his anger, 'I've a very good mind to send you to prison.'[10]

It made no difference to him if it were cold or if the snow, like a sheet stretching from the heights of Somosierra, covered everything and obliterated the track. Nothing stopped Fray John on the day he was to go and hear the nuns' confessions. He went up with his cloak, white like the snow, covering his bare feet which left an imprint on the obliterated path. On one of those days of heavy snow, P. Pablo de Santa María went with him. They had scarcely left the monastery when Fray John stepped into a pit covered over with snow, sank into it up to the knees and was stuck in the mire. He remained like this without being able to move for some time. When he succeeded in getting out, his companion suggested that he should return to the monastery to dry his feet, but he said it was not worth while, and they continued their way to the Carmelite convent. The following day the prior, as a result of the cold he had suffered in the snow, had all the skin off his toes.

His whole desire was to advance the spiritual perfection of his daughters. Even without speaking to him they knew this. Merely by looking at him they observed that 'he had his heart absorbed in God'. It seemed as if he left behind him all his cares as prior and member of the General Council. He never knew what he had had to eat. The nuns would ask him this intentionally, and he, making a great effort to remember, would say 'Wait, now, wait . . .'—and he had to give up the attempt. At times, as if he were constantly being drawn towards interior things, he lost the thread of what he was saying and said to the Mother-Prioress, María de la Encarnación, 'Tell me what we were speaking of.' On the other hand, when in their conversations which were usually about God, temporal affairs, settled in a few words, intervened, he cut the matter short quickly, saying to the prioress, 'Let us leave these trifles and speak of God.' The idea of creatures as a thing without

importance compared with the Creator, he had already expressed in the *Ascent of Mount Carmel:* 'All creatures are crumbs fallen from the table of God.' The nuns well experienced the truth of that expression of Fray Doria, when one day he said to them in the parlour: 'The words of Fray John of the Cross are like grains of pepper which arouse the appetite and give warmth.'

The effects of his spiritual ministry were swift and visible. The prioress declared that the day Fray John went to hear the nuns' confessions 'the house became a heaven', for the nuns only thought of progress in virtue. It is certain that he spared no pains. He gave the same attention to a novice as to the prioress. He came up as many times as they asked for him and did not return to his monastery until he had left the nun who had asked for him at peace and comforted — this although it meant eating at a late hour and putting up with other difficulties and inconveniences.

On occasions he needed to exercise all his patience and his mystical knowledge. Mariana de la Cruz was of an intuitive disposition. She could not use discourse in prayer and became discouraged, prepared to give it up because she thought it time lost. She referred her case to Fray John who understood it at once. She could not meditate because she was not discursive by nature. Her prayer had to be the simple quietude of faith. He began, then, to teach her how to practise this exercise. Mariana continued the struggle. It seemed to her that she was achieving nothing of value and she did not feel the divine influence. This did not matter, however; Fray John insisted that she was to persevere in the practice until her spiritual palate, which was still out of order, should recover its taste for that simple, almost imperceptible knowledge. Were not these the characteristics of the loving knowledge he so accurately described in the second book of the *Ascent*? The case of Mariana de la Cruz is a confirmation of that teaching. The Director was constant in not abandoning the nun, who finally came to perceive the influence of God in that practice and became a genuine contemplative.

Sister Isabel de Jesús, a delightful child and a novice of thirteen, was 'tenderly' loved by the holy confessor. All she heard from Fray John was engraven on her soul and made a keen impression on her. What he said to her in the confessional is not known, but when she came out she went away to weep over her sins for half an hour. She was, however, an angelic child. Fray John, who proved to her that he saw into the inmost recesses of her soul, made her a

present one day of the forty poems of the Spiritual Canticle, written with his own hand.

Another Isabel — Isabel of Christ — accused herself one day of feeling certain things too much. 'Daughter,' Fray John of the Cross said to her 'swallow those bitter mouthfuls, for the more bitter they are for you, the sweeter they are for God.'

Beatriz del Sacramento, the novice-mistress, was greatly afraid of death. When she told Fray John, he reassured her, 'Do not fear it for you will not feel it.' This actually happened. Madre Beatriz survived her holy confessor, who after his death appeared to her in glory with his habit full of stars. One day, 26 December,[11] feast of St John the Evangelist, when she was quiet and at peace, without realizing that she was dying, 'she grew still like an angel in heaven'.

Isabel de Santo Domingo, a great woman, a favourite of Madre Teresa and many times prioress of Segovia, decided to put Fray John on his guard in relation to a certain person, so that he did not allow himself to be deceived by her in the things of the spirit. 'In that way I shall not be so [deceived],' answered the saint, 'nor shall I have unkind thoughts which destroy purity of heart. It is better to let oneself be taken in.'

One of the favourite themes of his sermons to and conversations with the nuns was the value of suffering. He spoke from his very soul and could not conceal the fact. One day he had to go into the enclosure. Hanging on the wall of a certain cloister was a symbolic picture of the Passion of our Lord according to the allegory of the Prophet Isaias — Christ, like a bunch of grapes, was pouring forth his blood beneath the weight of the cross which was in the shape of the beam of a wine-press. Fray John stopped as he passed in front of it. He stood still looking at it and, with his face radiant, composed a poem on the impression the picture had made on him. Afterwards he put his arms around a great cross there was in the cloister, whilst fervently and deeply moved he uttered some words in Latin which the nuns did not understand. It was perhaps at this time that he repeated to them, particularly to Ana de San José, 'Daughter, seek nothing but the bare cross, which is a lovely thing.'

Of this he was convinced. He used the same language with our Lord, as we shall hear from Francisco de Yepes who was in Segovia at this time. He had come from Medina, sent for by his brother, Fray John of the Cross. The latter either knew or had a

presentiment that they would not see each other again on earth — perhaps he sent for him foreseeing that he was going to be assigned to Mexico — and he wanted to spend some days with 'the treasure he most loved in the world'. They spent many hours together. He made him sit by his side in the refectory, he looked after him and showed him all the kindness he could. When on one occasion he was speaking of his mother who had died eleven years earlier, she appeared to them radiant in glory, holding by the hand one of the daughters of Francisco, a little niece of Fray John who had died at the age of five.

When Francisco, after spending two or three days with his brother, decided to return to Medina, Fray John detained him: 'Don't be in so much of a hurry, for you do not know when we shall see each other again.' He made him stay a few days longer.

One night — perhaps in the spring of 1591, the last Fray John spent in Segovia and in that part of Spain — after supper he took Francisco by the hand and went out with him to the *huerta*. The spring nights of Segovia were delightful out of doors around the monastery. The air was pure, there was quiet and solitude with the sound of distant waters, the fragrance of woodland flowers, the deep firmament. . . . When the two brothers were alone, Fray John prepared to confide to Francisco something he had been keeping as a secret. He knew his brother's holiness — heroic virtue, extraordinary favours from heaven, visions, revelations . . . — all this on a foundation of delightful simplicity and naturalness. Padre Carro, the Jesuit of Medina who was his confessor, had said that 'Francisco de Yepes is as great a saint as his brother.' There was then no better confidant than he, both as his brother and as a saint. Fray John began to speak to him with simplicity:

> I want to tell you something that happened to me with our Lord. We had a crucifix in the monastery, and when I was in front of it one day it seemed to me that it would be more fitting for it to be in the church, and, with the desire that not only the friars should venerate it but also those from outside, I put it there as it had seemed to me I should. After I had put it in the church as reverently as I could, when I was praying before it one day, a voice said to me, 'Fray John, ask me what you like, for I will grant it you for this service you have done me.' I said to him: 'Lord, what I should like you to give me is trials to suffer for you, and to be despised and esteemed as of little worth.' I asked this of our Lord and his Majesty has changed things so that I rather feel pain at the great honour they do me, which is so much without my deserts.

It was not a crucifix, as Francisco de Yepes incorrectly said — it was a picture. It is still preserved.[12] It is the bust of our Lord with the cross on his shoulders painted on leather. One can scarcely distinguish more than the suffering face crowned with thorns. The sad expression, suffering and full of kindness at the same time, with the lips half open, as if they had just uttered the words that Fray John heard that day when he prayed before it in the Carmelite church at Segovia, is moving.

19

THE SOLITUDE OF THE SIERRA MORENA

On Saturday the eve of Pentecost 1591, which fell that year on the first day of June, the Chapter of the Discalced friars met in Madrid.[1] It was presided over by the Vicar-General, Fray Nicolás de Jesús María, and the six members of the Council, the Provincials and their *socii* were present. Among the members of the Council was Fray John of the Cross who was accompanied by P. Juan de Santa Ana.

When he left Segovia, the prioress of the Discalced nuns told him they all hoped that the Chapter would make him Superior of the nuns. He replied: 'If you only knew, daughter, how different my thoughts are! I must tell you that when I was in prayer recommending the affairs of the Chapter to God, it seemed to me that they took me and threw me in a corner.'

Apart from the revelation in prayer, Fray John could clearly foresee what was awaiting him at the coming Chapter. His position *vis-à-vis* Padre Doria was no longer the same as two years earlier when he came to that monastery as prior. Fray John, so submissive to authority when obedience was due from him, but so independent in his judgement when the opportunity for expressing an opinion came, had recently adopted an attitude of respectful but frank and decided opposition to certain views of the Vicar-General. This, moreover, was over problems which meant a very great deal to Padre Doria and which he defended with relentless energy and tenacity. Matters had come to a head at the Extraordinary General Chapter held in Madrid just a year earlier, 10 June 1590, when Fray John of the Cross was elected first Counsellor.[2] Two problems in particular were discussed — the resolution to be adopted about the affairs and the attitude of the nuns, who were subject to a Discalced Superior although not directly to the Consulta, and the affair of Padre Gracián.

The problem of the nuns was beset with complications.

Alarmed by the situation in which they found themselves when the Consulta was set up to rule the Discalced Carmelites, the nuns wanted to petition the Pope for a Brief which on the one hand would so confirm the Constitutions that the Consulta could not change them, and on the other would provide them with a Discalced Superior who would govern them directly without the intervention of the Consulta. Otherwise, if the convents were directly subject to the Consulta, all the business of their different communities would have to pass through that body, with consequent delay and inevitable publicity in matters which were the private affairs of the nuns; and there was, in addition, the danger that the Consulta would change the Constitutions and multiply the rules by which the nuns were to be governed.

Ana de Jesús, who had been prioress of the convent of Madrid since 1586, was the one who in the name of the Discalced nuns, and after having discussed the matter with four or five of the prioresses who had lived with Madre Teresa, was charged to bring the matter to a successful conclusion. She did not want to begin the steps she was about to take without the authorization of the Vicar-General. This she obtained in a rather surreptitious and somewhat roundabout way. When Padre Doria who had come to make a visitation was in the parlour of the Discalced nuns of Madrid, the conversation turned on government by the Consulta, and the Vicar-General spoke of it with enthusiasm, praising its advantages for the Reform. 'Father,' Madre Ana then said to him in the presence of all the nuns, 'I am afraid the fathers of the Consulta will change many things in the laws and Constitutions which our Mother-Foundress left us. Let your reverence not consent to it, for we see by experience how satisfactory things are in these houses when we keep that which our holy Mother left us.' Padre Doria was slightly put out and replied: 'Heavens, mother, don't be afraid, if anything is changed, it will not be anything of importance.' 'Since our Constitutions', added Madre Ana 'have already been authorized by the papal nuncio, so that they may have greater force, if your reverence agrees, would it not be good to ask the Sovereign Pontiff for a Brief in which they would be confirmed to us?' 'Very good, mother,' replied the Vicar-General. Before Padre Doria left the parlour, the prioress insisted: 'Well, father, do I understand your reverence to say it would be good to have a Brief from Rome in regard to our Constitutions?' Padre Doria replied that if there were no one to go to

fetch it, he would walk there himself and bare-foot. 'Daughters,' concluded the mother, addressing the nuns, 'you are my witnesses of all our father Vicar-General has said.'

Having discussed the matter with men of learning and in view of the fact that the Consulta brought forward no solution, the nuns put the business in the hands of Bernabé del Mármol, a priest of great reputation and a relative of Padre Gracián. Bernabé del Mármol petitioned for the Brief and Sixtus V dispatched it on 5 June 1590. In it, in addition to approval of the Constitutions of the nuns, the Superior they desired was appointed:

> We legislate [ran the pontifical document] that only the Vicar-General of the said Order and Congregation (of Discalced Carmelites) shall be Superior of the said nuns, and that every three years . . . he may appoint some one of the friars of the said Congregation, advanced in years, prudence, piety and knowledge, for the government of the said nuns and of their convents. He . . . shall have a vote in the Chapter and a place after the Vicar-General. . . . The said Visitor-General, with full jurisdiction and power . . . , can and must visit, correct and reform the convents of the said nuns. . . . For which reason we forbid all other Provincials and religious whatsoever, even though they be Councillors of the said Consulta and Order, and likewise the Ordinaries, to interfere in the government of the said nuns or convents, on any pretext whatsoever.

In this way, it will be seen that the nuns, although wholly dependent on the Discalced friars, were free from direct intervention on the part of the Consulta.

When Padre Doria was informed of what had occurred, he felt a natural annoyance and proposed to the Chapter that they should dissociate themselves entirely from the government of the nuns. Apart from the first suggestion which Madre Ana put before him in the parlour in Madrid, and which the Vicar-General would suppose would be carried out by normal channels, namely through the medium of the nuns' own Superiors, the whole business was done behind the Order's back, as it were, for even the execution of the Brief was entrusted to outside persons, such as Fray Luis de León and don Teutonio de Braganza.

Fray John of the Cross, who was present as first Councillor and first diffinitor, was opposed to Padre Doria's measure of revenge. It was a resolution that was not only very hard, but unjust. The nuns were not seeking their separation from the Order, but a

government which, since it was of the Order, would be more direct for their affairs and less exposed to the modifications and disturbance they feared from the Consulta. The authority of Fray John of the Cross — moral authority that was incalculable on account of his virtues, and official authority on account of his high office — made a keen impression on the fathers of the Chapter and this annoyed Padre Doria correspondingly. The latter's reaction was immediate. As the nuns, apart from Padre Gracián, had proposed Fray John of the Cross as their Visitor, Padre Doria, who was aware of the fact that from Lisbon, where he was at the time, Gracián had taken certain steps in favour of the nuns, thought that Fray John of the Cross had also intervened in the same sense and from this moment looked upon him as an element dangerous to his plans.

In this, however, Padre Doria was mistaken. It does not appear that Fray John intervened in the matter in any way. He was an enemy of anything in the nature of a conspiracy and we know that he did not even approve of the steps taken for the execution of the Brief. He defended the nuns against the attempt, which he thought unjust, to separate them from the Order and so far as this was concerned he spoke out unhesitatingly and loyally before the Chapter. It is quite true that at this time, taking advantage of his stay in Madrid, he made a journey to Cuerva to see the Discalced nuns there, but there is not the slightest indication that this visit had any connection with the matter under discussion. All that is known is that he went via Toledo and that from there P. Andrés de Jesús, the future prior of that monastery, accompanied him. When they got to a picturesque place which seemed to call them to recollection, Fray John invited his companion to rest and withdrew among the trees, while he left P. Andrés with their mounts. When it was already on the point of sunset and P. Andrés saw that Fray John did not come, he went in search of him and found him in ecstasy, his body suspended above the grass without touching the ground.

The second matter on which Fray John of the Cross opposed Padre Doria was that of Gracián. Without justifying the latter's conduct in every point, the animosity with which the inquiry about him was conducted, and in particular the attempt to drag the business before the public to the inevitable prejudice of the Reform, grieved him. 'Since it is we who have set the inquiry on foot,' he said, 'we ought to pursue it without anyone knowing

of it.' He had received a revelation as to the unfortunate conclusion of the matter. A few days earlier P. Juan Evangelista had found him in deep prayer in his cell at Segovia. He tried to attract his attention, but since the prior did not return to himself, he went out of the cell leaving him in his ecstasy. At the first opportunity, however, he asked him what had happened and although Fray John tried to hide it from him, in the end, insistently importuned by P. Evangelista, he said — 'I order you to tell no one so long as I am alive. It was shown to me that our father Vicar-General and the diffinitors were entering into the sea and I called out to them that they should not go in or they would drown. I saw that the water reached up to their shins and to their knees, and to the waist and I continued to call out to them that they should not go in. And there was no remedy, but that they should go forward and all be drowned.' P. Evangelista added: 'This was at the time of the business about P. Gracián.' Fray John's calling out to Padre Doria and the diffinitors were the letters he wrote them from Madrid and from Segovia about the matter, letters so bravely outspoken that they alarmed P. Evangelista, to whom he read them before sending them. He even abstained from attending any meeting of diffinitors, as a kind of protest.

It is not, then, surprising that Padre Doria who in these two matters — that of the nuns and that of Gracián — had a point of view which he believed correct and which he tenaciously defended as the best, decided to get rid of Fray John of the Cross, who opposed him so firmly. The Vicar-General must have been thoroughly convinced that it was not easy to silence the first diffinitor, much less to win him over by promises, thus making him sell his judgement.

It was under these conditions that the General Chapter of 1591 was held. Among those participating, having come as *socii* for the province of San Felipe of Lower Andalusia, was P. Diego Evangelista, a young preacher full of resentment against Fray John of the Cross, ever since the latter, as vicar of Andalusia, had called him to order on the matter of his frequent journeys out of the monastery, which were not in keeping with the Discalced Carmelite life. Fray John of the Cross thus had against him the attitude of Padre Doria, which would have been sufficient in itself in view of his important influence on the members of the Chapter; that of the diffinitors, particularly of one of them whose name is unknown to us, with whom he did not agree as to the approach to

the problems discussed,[3] and the spiteful animosity of P. Diego Evangelista who was out for revenge against the Father of the Reform. There were other Chapter fathers, doubtless the majority as was to be seen from the voting, who detached themselves from Fray John of the Cross in order not to go against Padre Doria, for it was to their interest to take the latter's part. Even old Padre Antonio de Jesús, Fray John's companion in initiating the Reform in Duruelo, seems to have been against him at this time.

The first acts of the Chapter — the election of members of the Council and of diffinitors — turned out as Fray John expected. He, who up till this time had been the first Counsellor, remained without office. P. Diego Evangelista, on the other hand, was elected member of the Council and diffinitor. This fact alone is a sufficient indication of the atmosphere of the Chapter. According to P. Gregorio de San Ángelo, secretary of the diffinitors and of the Consulta since that body had been instituted, and who had therefore been Fray John's fellow diffinitor, there was only one reason for leaving Fray John without office — that of preventing his nomination as Visitor of the nuns, an office which, in the opinion of all, had to go hand in hand with some other prelacy. If Fray John were left without office, then, he would not be eligible for that charge. This was notified to him by P. Gregorio de San Ángelo himself in Padre Doria's name, and also communicated to him personally by the Vicar-General.

As it was obliged to do, the Chapter busied itself with the problems that were pending — the legislation, the attitude of the nuns, the problem of P. Gracián. The chronicler of the Reform, who was a contemporary of these events, stresses the intervention of Fray John of the Cross, who made observations and put suggestions in regard to each of the three matters. With regard to the rules, he recommended that they should not be multiplied without necessity. This was a recommendation which Madre Teresa had already made. The stifling effect of legislation which was too detailed, sometimes contradictory, would be felt. Even in the last years of Padre Doria's term of office, they could count more than three hundred rules. In the matter of the nuns and in that of P. Gracián, he insisted on the attitude of the General Chapter held the previous year, which was well known to the Father-Vicar and the diffinitors from the letters he wrote them. Fray John of the Cross, although small in stature and wasted with illness, had not allowed himself to be intimidated by finding

himself without office. It is certain that he was not the only one to think in that way, but he was the only one who had the courage to express his thought. Other fathers in the Chapter, even among the most senior, linked to Padre Doria by bribes or by hopes, did not dare to oppose the vicar's judgement although behind his back they murmured about his decisions.

Fray John obtained nothing except to contrive to bring about the confirmation of Padre Doria's decision to exclude him from any post of influence either with the friars or the nuns. For greater security Doria thought of sending him to Mexico, for which the opportunity was to hand. The fathers of that province, which was in its initial stages of development, had asked the Chapter for twelve religious whom they needed. When the matter was brought up at the Chapter, Fray John of the Cross offered himself, and the diffinitors, who must have seen in this the best solution they could wish for for their plans, accepted the offer on 25 June and appointed him head of the expedition in letters patent which ran:

> In Madrid, 25 June[4] of the year 1591, the Vicar-General and the diffinitors being met together, in view of the request of the fathers of the province of Mexico in New Spain, in which they ask us to send them twelve religious, and the offer which Padre Fray John of the Cross has made before the whole Chapter that he would go there willingly if sent, it was proposed that the twelve fathers should be sent to Mexico and that the offer of the said Padre Fray John of the Cross for that journey be accepted, and that eleven others who shall be such as the province of Mexico asks for and shall go of their own free will be sent.

After a few days it was seen that the precaution taken by Padre Doria and his diffinitors with regard to Fray John of the Cross was unnecessary. The problem of the nuns was settled in accordance with the wishes of the Consulta, although the latter knew nothing of it. Gregory XIV had issued a Brief modifying that of Sixtus V, according to the wishes of Padre Doria. Dated 24 April, it did not come to the knowledge of the diffinitors until the end of June or beginning of July, when the Chapter had broken up.[5] For this reason the decision relating to Fray John of the Cross underwent a change. Padre Doria was convinced by the arrival of the Brief that there was no longer any danger of Fray John's being appointed Visitor of the nuns, since the Brief suppressed that office, and thought of sending him to Segovia as Superior of

the monastery there. Fray John, however, refused. He wanted to be free from the preoccupations of government to devote himself exclusively to his own sanctification, as he said to P. Gregorio de San Ángelo, diffinitor and secretary of the diffinitors: 'Padre Fray Gregorio, it does not matter to me in the least remaining without office, for God has done me a great mercy in that I shall now take care of my own soul alone.' On 6 July Padre Doria still planned to send him to Segovia and Fray John wrote from Madrid to Madre Ana de Jesús (Jimena): 'What I ask, daughter, is that you beseech the Lord that he will deign to grant me this favour, for I still fear they may make me go to Segovia and not leave me free at all, although I shall do all I can to free myself from these things.'

The father Vicar-General, in view of the fact that Fray John did not want to go to Segovia as vicar, decided that he should go to Andalusia. Earlier biographers have thought that the saint asked for this, but it is clear that this was not so. Padre Doria assigned Fray John to no definite monastery — he merely assigned him to the province of Andalusia, which Fray John when he was there earlier so much wanted to leave. It may have been done with a view to his being nearer the port from which he would have to sail for Mexico. Once his new destination was thus determined, Fray John began to make his preparations. He began by instructing P. Juan de Santa Ana, who had come from Segovia with him to the Chapter, to leave immediately for Andalusia to recruit the fathers who were to go with them to the Province of New Spain.

When the news of the situation in which Fray John of the Cross was left at the Chapter reached the monasteries and convents, exclamations and protests arose from all sides, even reaching his own ears. Among the first to write to him of their grief were the nuns of Segovia. The news must have reached them quickly and they must have written to Fray John at once, for on 6 July he replied from Madrid. The letter he wrote to Ana de Jesús, the only complete letter to her of those we know, is one of the finest he ever wrote:

> May Jesus be in your soul. Thank you very much for having written to me — you put me under a great debt to you. That things have not turned out as you wished, you ought rather to console yourself and give much thanks to God, for since his Majesty has ordained it thus, it is what is best for everyone. It only remains to apply our wills to it so that it may seem to us as it is in truth; for things that do not please us, how-

ever good and fitting they may be, seem evil and adverse and this it can be clearly seen is not so, either for me or for anyone, since for me it is very advantageous, inasmuch as, free from the charge of souls, I can, if I want, by the divine favour enjoy peace, solitude and the delightful fruit of forgetfulness of self and of all things. For the others, too, it is good for them to have me away, for thus they will be free from the faults they inevitably committed on account of my wretchedness.

[Then follows the passage already quoted on page 277 — 'What I ask you, daughter, is. . . .'] If, however, this cannot be, neither will Madre Ana de Jesús have freed herself from my hands, as she thinks, and thus she will not die with that regret that the occasion of being very holy, to her way of thinking, has come to an end. But whether I go or whether I stay, wherever and howsoever it may be, I shall not forget her or take her name from the list she mentions,[6] for truly I desire her good for all eternity.

Now, until God gives us this in heaven, occupy yourself exercising the virtues of mortification and patience, desiring to become in suffering something like that great God of ours, humilitated and crucified — for this life, if it is not to imitate him, is worthless. May his Majesty preserve and increase you in his love, as his holy and beloved, Amen.

From Madrid, 6 July 1591 — Fray John of the Cross.

At the same time, with the same date and identical purpose, he wrote to the prioress of this same convent of Segovia, María de la Encarnación:

As far as I am concerned, daughter, do not grieve, for I have no regrets. What I regard as very important is that no blame should be given to him who does not deserve it — for it is not men who do these things, but God who knows what is good for us and ordains things for our good. Do not think anything else except that God ordains all things. And where there is no love, put love and you will draw out love.

Fray John's ideas did not change. The same conviction with which we saw him wait in El Calvario and Granada for God to remedy the material needs of his religious when they had nothing to eat, was what now, in the moments of bitterest persecution, prompted these expressions: 'All is ordained by God's providence. If we believe that it was he who multiplied the loaves, why not think that we are in the hands of that same providence when men persecute us?'

At this time Fray John was suffering a real and persistent persecution. P. Diego Evangelista, when he saw Fray John of the Cross without office, was still not satisfied but eagerly sought his

humiliation. One of the days immediately following the Chapter, during Fray John's stay in Madrid, a spiritual theme was brought up for discussion at recreation. The mystical doctor took part in it with the insuperable competence and tact which characterized him. All listened to him attentively and enthusiastically. Diego Evangelista, who was present, could not bear this, and, abusing his recently acquired office as diffinitor, rudely and with words of contempt ordered Fray John to be silent. Without another word or the slightest gesture of displeasure, Fray John obeyed. While P. Diego had the pleasure of having humiliated the Father of the Reform once more, the latter suffered, with a smiling countenance as if he had not felt it, the humiliation inflicted by a former subject of his, young, haughty and spiteful.

How long Fray John remained in Madrid when the Chapter was over is not known with certainty — probably until the middle of July at least. On the 6th, the date of his letter to Ana de Jesús, his assignment was not yet decided, since he still feared they might make him go as vicar to Segovia. One day during his stay he went out for a walk into the country with P. Juan de Jesús María Aravalles, then master of novices in Madrid as he had been earlier in Pastrana — one of the best subjects the Reform had.[7] The monastery of St Hermenegild, to-day in the centre of the Spanish capital, was at the time of which we are writing outside the city. They had not far to go, then, to find themselves in the open country. P. Juan de Jesús María was in admiration at the peace Fray John preserved in the midst of the persecution of which he was the subject and which everyone knew about. He did not even refer to it. When they were in the country, perhaps undecided as to which way to take, Fray John of the Cross said to his companion, 'Let us go this way along this untrodden path — for nobody who has offended God has passed this way.'

At other times he went to the house of doña Ana de Peñalosa, then living in Madrid with her brother don Luis de Mercado, who was Judge of the Royal Council and Inquisitor of the Supreme Court. One afternoon he went out with P. Cirilo Piñan, who later went over to the Calced fathers. P. Cirilo had received orders from P. Mariano not to let Fray John out of his sight — he thus kept constant watch on him. Padre Mariano had given P. Cirilo this instruction under secrecy. When they arrived at doña Ana's house, Fray John went into the oratory with her, while P. Cirilo respectfully remained in an outer room. When, however,

Fray John noticed this, he told him to carry out his orders and made him sit on a stool right at the door of the oratory, which was open; from there he had a full view of both confessor and penitent during the whole time the confession lasted.

As soon as his departure for Andalusia was decided, Fray John said good-bye to his various friends in Madrid — the Discalced nuns, doña Ana de Peñalosa, Padre Gracián's family. . . . When he went to the nuns, his face was full of joy with an angelic peace which astonished them, for they knew what he was suffering. When he told them his new destination, doubtless with the precise indication of the monastery which was isolated among the mountainous solitudes of the Sierra Morena, a nun whom he knew, for he had brought her to the Madrid foundation himself, said to him with surprise and as it were compassionately, 'What a place for your reverence to be going to, father!' 'Daughter,' replied Fray John, 'I shall be better off among the stones than with men.'

When he went to bid farewell to doña Ana, he said, 'I leave you with God, child, for I am going away.' The noble lady was deeply moved and began to weep. 'Father,' she said, 'how is it that you are going away and leaving me?' 'Child,' her director comforted her, 'do not grieve, for you will send for me and bring me back.' Nobody realized the meaning of these words at the time, but five months later, when, after Fray John's death in Ubeda, doña Ana and her brother, don Luis, succeeded in bringing the body to Segovia via Madrid, all were to think of the prophetic truth of that phrase of farewell.

Last of all he said good-bye to Padre Gracián's family. How rightly Madre Teresa, had she been living, would have repeated what she wrote in 1578 to Padre Gracián about Fray John of the Cross: 'I tell you that if he should come to die, your paternity would have few left like him!' Unfortunately, Padre Gracián never became convinced of this. He did not understand the mystical doctor. How well Madre Teresa understood him! . . .

Before he finally left for Andalusia, Fray John went to Segovia, to say good-bye to the Discalced nuns, the last community he had directed. He must have been declining physically during his stay in Madrid, for the nuns found him looking ill and it grieved them to see him thus. 'Heavens, father, and what has happened to your reverence?' said María de la Encarnación, the prioress, to him. They referred to the bad way in which the fathers of the Chapter behaved towards him. Fray John, however, interrupted

quickly, saying 'We won't speak of that'; he would not allow the slightest comment on what had happened.

It was probably on this occasion, also, that he took leave of Francisco de Urueña, the barber of the Discalced friars. As he went down to shave the friars, he ran into Fray John who was saying good-bye. 'When will you be back here?' the barber asked him. Fray John told him definitely that he would not return. They would not see each other again, he said, unless in heaven. He then left Segovia.

The monastery was there, although still unfinished — the *huerta* which he had enlarged, the narrow little cave on the top of the rocks, the picture of Christ which spoke to him, the tiny cell with the board fastened to the wall, the confessional underneath the stairs. . . . Above all, there remained his work of sanctification in the living temples of his friars and in so many souls there who had received his spiritual teaching. P. Diego de la Encarnación, who succeeded him as prior, testified to the trail of virtue which Fray John left behind when he went away from Segovia.

Andalusia was a long way for Fray John of the Cross, weak as he was, as the Discalced nuns had seen. The journey was more than two hundred miles. He is known to have passed through Toledo, where he spoke with P. Elias de San Martín, future General of the Order. Perhaps he also stopped at Málaga and at Almodóvar del Campo.

As soon as he arrived at La Peñuela, the first monastery of the province of Andalusia as you come from Castile, Fray John wrote to the Provincial, Padre Antonio de Jesús: 'Father, I have come to be one of your reverence's subjects. Your reverence will decide what you want me to do and where you want me to go.' Padre Antonio replied that he was to choose the house he liked best in the province and go there. 'Father,' replied Fray John, 'I have not come to do my own will or to choose a house. Your reverence will decide where you want me to go and there I will go.' To the joy of the conventual friars, who felt honoured at having such a saint there, he remained at La Peñuela.

It was a monastery isolated among the southern spurs of the Sierra Morena, about two miles west of the battlefield of Las Navas de Tolosa. It was wild highland country — savage mountains covered with rock-rose, turpentine trees, wild fig-trees, heather, strawberry-trees, cork-oaks and aromatic herbs.[8] Until 1573 there had been a small hermitage there, inhabited by monks

with long beards and dark habits, of penitential life. In that year it was acquired for the Discalced Carmelite friars by P. Gabriel de la Concepción. Suppressed by Padre Gracián in 1573 — he transferred the foundation to El Calvario — the Discalced friars returned to La Peñuela on 10 August 1577. From that time it went forward both materially and spiritually. The neighbourhood was full of the fame of the solitaries, whose penitential life astonished all those who passed through those mountainous parts.

When Fray John of the Cross arrived in the summer of 1591, La Peñuela had greatly improved since he knew it from the visitation he made from Baeza in the years 1579–81. A new church had been built, there was a vineyard with seven thousand new vines planted by the friars, an olive grove of three thousand trees, and around the house there were more than a hundred and fifty acres of tillage land which gave more than enough bread for the monastery. Outside their property, surrounding it on every side, lay the thick undergrowth and scrub of the wild sierra.

Here Fray John resumed after twelve years that solitary life which he had lived at El Calvario, a twin monastery to this. Here, however, to favour his attraction for solitude and the interior life, Fray John had the advantage of being without office. He could thus give himself up to it fully, without any preoccupations. Obviously he was happy there, for he wrote so himself to doña Ana de Peñalosa. The friars who were living with him also knew.

Every day on those delightful early mornings of summer on the Sierra Morena, he was up before daybreak. He went out to the *huerta* and, among some willow trees by a duct of running water, knelt down and made his morning prayer. There he stayed until the heat of the sun forced him to return to the monastery. At other times, not content with remaining in the orchard, which was enclosed by a hedge of earth and twigs, he asked leave of the prior, Fray Diego de la Concepción, and went out on to the mountains to drink more deeply of divine contemplation. We learn that he used to go by a spring in the midst of some trees and there he remained kneeling, his hands joined before his breast, as he always made his prayer, until he heard the sound of the bell which was the summons to some community act. He returned there when vespers were done until the conventual evening prayer.

Back in his cell, where his bed was a hurdle of rods interwoven with rags, he busied himself writing. It was here that he wrote a

book about the miracles of the images of Guadalcázar, referred to in chapter 16, lost very soon after his death. It is known that it was on the subject of false and true miracles, of a good and evil spirit. He also revised, perhaps even rewriting them, certain of his major works, such as the *Spiritual Canticle*.[9] In any case Fray John did not act without leave of the prior, from whom he asked permission for even the smallest things — he was like a novice. He allowed no distinction to be made, not even in the matter of food, although he was ill. Like that of them all, his food consisted solely in bread — a bread of beans and barley mixed with wheat — and some cooked herbs.

The whole of his life, however, did not consist of prayer in the *huerta* by the running water in the midst of the willows; Fray John still went out to exercise his apostolate in the town of Linares. It was about ten miles away, slightly downhill and always bearing west. He was accompanied by Brother Martín de la Asunción who had been his subject in Baeza and his former companion along so many of the roads of Andalusia. Ordinarily they returned to the monastery fasting, but if Fray John felt too weak he would tell Brother Martín to bring a loaf, and by some stream along the road they would eat bread with water-cress or other herbs that might be to hand.

An incident which the friars of La Peñuela considered miraculous took place at this time. It was at the end of July or beginning of August. The wheat harvest was reaped and gathered in and Brother Cristóbal, to burn the scrub, set fire to the stubble. There was an extent of one hundred and fifty acres and more of land under cultivation, dotted with cork-oaks which lay to the north of the monastery. The stubble, dry and yellow, was very high, and around it was a hedge of dry wood. When the fire had already caught, the wind which had been blowing from the south turned northwards and, instead of throwing the flames towards the north, turned them in the direction of the monastery. Even the church was filled with smoke. The friars came out in alarm and discussed what was best to be done, for all considered both the monastery and their property as good as burnt. Some told the prior he should consume the Blessed Sacrament. Fray John, however, was not of this opinion. He said that some should go before the Blessed Sacrament and implore our Lord's help, and he ordered others to tackle the fire on the opposite side, while he remained there by the hedge threatened by the flames which were

advancing over the stubble and over the dry wood of the vines. When the flames reached the place where Fray John was, he remained where he was, quite still, kneeling in prayer. The fire advanced no farther. The flames, which for some moments had seemed to be passing over his head, changed their direction and the fire began to decrease and die down. When Fray John rose from the ground, he was covered in perspiration. He returned to the monastery and, going into the cell of a friar who was ill and had not been able to move, said to him with a smile, 'What would you have thought if you had been burnt?' He then went to the door of the church where the friars who had helped to control the fire were: 'Are you very tired?' he asked them, 'with a laughing face which stole your heart away', as P. Francisco de San Hilarión, who was present, said. The prior ordered Brother Martín to open all the doors of the church to let out the smoke which had got into it, and as he opened one of them a hare ran out and took refuge in Fray John's habit. The friars caught it by the ears, but the little creature escaped again and ran for refuge to the folds of the habit of Fray John of the Cross.

This was not the only thing done by Fray John which the friars of La Peñuela considered miraculous. One evening they also saw him disperse a storm. They were alarmed because they feared it could come down with violence and destroy the vineyard and the olive grove. Fray John, however, said to them 'Do not worry.' Going out to the cloister he bared his head, raised his eyes to heaven and traced four crosses in the air — one to each of the four points of the compass. The storm vanished as if driven away, and the religious, deeply impressed, gave thanks to heaven.

All — even down to Brother Juan de la Madre de Dios, who had formerly been a gardener in La Peñuela — experienced the beneficent influence of the power of Fray John of the Cross. The brother was not there when Fray John arrived, for he was seriously ill and they had had to take him to Baeza. There he was given up by the doctors. One day the fathers were saying how much they missed Brother Juan, who looked after their lands so well. Fray John asked the prior why they did not bring him there, and was told that he was very ill. Fray John, however, insisted — he was sure he would get better at La Peñuela. Finally they sent for him. As soon as the friar sent to bring him arrived at Baeza, and told the sick man it was Fray John of the Cross who wanted him to go there and was looking for him, the sick man opened his eyes and,

as if gathering up his strength, said in a determined tone, 'Let us go, for it will be well with us,' and they set off. When he reached La Peñuela, Fray John gave him an embrace and, as if in so doing he had given him health too, the brother felt so well that had they allowed him he would have gone to work in the *huerta* that very instant.

While Fray John, who was loved and venerated in his monastery, was working these miracles hidden in the fastnesses of the sierra, someone was setting on foot a defamatory process against him. This was P. Diego Evangelista, the diffinitor aged only thirty-one, a man who was puffed up with pride, violent and spiteful. Commissioned by the diffinitors to complete some information for the inquiry about Padre Gracián, he sought to involve the holy little Fray John, as Madre Teresa called him, in the same difficulties. He hoped — as he was to admit later — to deprive him of the habit and cast him out of the Reform.

The exact date at which his despicable campaign began is not known, but it was certainly at this time when Fray John was in La Peñuela.[10] From there, and referring to this process which had already reached his ears, the saint wrote to the prioress of Caravaca, Ana de San Alberto: 'Daughter, you will already have learned of the many trials we are suffering. God permits this for the glory of his chosen ones. In silence and in hope will be our strength. God guard you and make you holy. Commend me to God.'

Even the conventual friars of La Peñuela, the prior in particular, knew about it. They advised Fray John to protest to the Vicar-General, but he would not. The moment had arrived for experiencing the cross and the cross alone, 'which is a lovely thing', and he preferred to await in silence the terrible and painful defamation. He would not even allow them to talk about the matter, still less that ill should be spoken of his persecutors. 'Father,' said one of his sons to him, 'how much P. Diego Evangelista is persecuting your reverence!' Fray John interrupted, energetically, 'What you have said gives me more pain and grief than the other.'

He was fully informed of everything that was being done against him. From Granada, whence the majority of the information came and where P. Juan de Santa Ana was, sent by Fray John to recruit the friars who were to go with him to Mexico, the worst news reached him. P. Juan de Santa Ana wrote to him telling him frankly that there was even a thought of depriving

him of the habit. Fray John took his pen and replied: 'Son, don't let that grieve you, for they cannot deprive me of the habit except for being incorrigible or disobedient, and I am more than prepared to make amends for anything in which I may have erred and to accept whatever penance they may give me.[11]

He also wrote to his faithful disciple Juan Evangelista. Far from complaining, he did not even mention his troubles. He only asked him to commend him to God and wrote this Biblical phrase full of melancholy: '*The sons of my mother have fought against me.*'

P. Diego Evangelista, whom his contemporaries described as a 'young man of little prudence and choleric by disposition', did not seek information; he demanded declarations of culpability which he needed to dishonour his father — already crowned with such a great halo of virtues and miracles — and cast him out of the Order. For this reason, doubtless, he went to the convents of nuns, hoping to intimidate and fluster them. To this purpose he used promises and threats alternately. When neither the one nor the other prevailed, he would falsify the declarations, writing what they had not said and giving a malevolent interpretation to the most innocent actions. The nuns of Granada, who were those most persistently and infamously pestered by the diffinitor, precisely because they had been so much loved by him whom he was persecuting, panicked and in view of the perverse interpretation given to what was most holy, burned a wallet full of writings, letters and portraits of their father Fray John. There were some who courageously protested. One lady, indignant at the questions which were put to her, went and denounced to the Superiors the unspeakable abuses of the young Visitor.

In the meantime it may be wondered what the Vicar-General, Padre Doria, was doing. In his Madrid monastery, was he unaware of what was happening in Andalusia, when everybody was *au courant* of the scandalous trouble set on foot by P. Diego Evangelista, who was his representative? It is clear that he knew about it, because letters were coming and going to the diffinitors on the matter, as his secretary, P. Gregorio de San Ángelo, said. Lucía de San José had written to him in this sense from Málaga. Why, then, did he not put a stop to the inquiry? Is it sufficient to say afterwards that 'as he did not stop it it remained like that' when nothing less than the honour of the Father of the Reform was concerned in it? The attitude adopted by Padre Doria was not even adequate when he received the infamous allegation sent

to him by P. Diego Evangelista. When he read it, he said in the presence of the secretary of the diffinitors: 'The Visitor had no mandate to interfere in the matter, neither did what he was claiming to investigate here fall upon Fray John.' He did not even destroy the report, which remained in the archives until 1594, when the new General, Fray Elías de San Martín, had it burnt in his presence. The Vicar-General and diffinitors looked upon P. Diego's actions so leniently that, instead of punishing him, they favoured him by sending him to Italy where he continued his implacable defamatory labours even after Fray John's death. He had only to meet a friar who had been with the saint for some considerable time, to pester him with questions, trying to make him speak ill of the Father of the Reform. He regretted that the victim had escaped his hands. When he was in Sanlúcar, news of the death of Fray John of the Cross arrived, and while the nuns, especially María de San Pablo, wept and mourned for the saint's disappearance, P. Diego exclaimed, 'If he had not died, I would have deprived him of the habit and he would not have died in the Order.'[12]

While P. Diego was initiating his defamatory process, Fray John, in his retreat at La Peñuela, began to feel some slight fever arising from inflammation of the right leg. At the beginning he did not trouble about it, but ended, at the insistence of the others, by thinking about getting it put right. The same day P. Francisco de San Hilarión, also fell ill and of the same disease, and suggested to Fray John of the Cross that they should both go to Baeza to get cured. It was there that sick friars from La Peñuela went, since in their solitude they lacked resources, doctors and medicines. We have already seen that the gardening brother, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, went to Baeza. At first Fray John of the Cross refused, resolved not to move from where he was. He particularly did not wish to go to Baeza, a College founded by him where they knew and loved him. Even the prior, Fray Ángel de la Presentación, was one of those most devoted to him. That was precisely what Fray John was trying to avoid. 'Let your charity go and get cured [in Baeza]', he said to P. Francisco de San Hilarión, 'I will go away to Ubeda, for in Baeza they know me very well and in Ubeda nobody knows me.'[13]

The intervention of the Superior was even needed, for the patient continued to think that it was not necessary for him to go away from where he was. P. Juan de la Madre de Dios, who had

come from Ubeda as vicar of the monastery during the prior's absence, ordered him to go there, and then Fray John said, 'Since it is a matter of obedience, let us go' and he prepared to leave. Before going he took his pen and wrote to doña Ana de Peñalosa:

> May Jesus be in your soul, daughter. I received to-day, at La Peñuela, the folder of letters the servant brought me. I greatly appreciate the care he has taken. To-morrow I am going to Ubeda, to get cured of a little fever from which I have been suffering daily for more than a week, so that it seems to me I shall need medical help. I intend, however, to return here as quickly as possible, for it is certain that I am very well in this solitude. Thus in what you say to me about taking care to go with P. Fray Antonio, be sure, that of this and of all the rest that you ask, I shall take all the care I can.
>
> I have been very glad that don Luis is already a priest of the Lord. May he live many years and the Lord grant the desires of his soul. What a good estate to leave cares behind and quickly enrich the soul! Congratulate him for me, for I do not dare to ask him that some day, when he is saying Mass, he should remember me, for I, as his debtor, remember him always. For, although I am forgetful, since he is so close to his sister, whom I always remember, I cannot fail to remember him.
>
> To my daughter, doña Inés, give many greetings in the Lord, and both of you ask him that he be pleased to take me to himself. Now I no longer remember what I write, and for consideration for the fever, also, I leave it, for I should very much like to write a greater length.
>
> From La Peñuela, 21 September 1591 — FRAY JOHN OF THE CROSS.

20

MATINS IN HEAVEN

On 28 September 1591 Fray John of the Cross, suffering from fever and from his inflamed leg, left La Peñuela for Ubeda. It was an extremely hot day. He rode on a mule offered him by Juan de Cuéllar, a townsman of Ubeda and, as we know, an old friend of Fray John ever since he was Superior of El Calvario. A day earlier P. Juan de la Madre de Dios had come up on the mule from Ubeda, accompanied by a youth.[1] They came down from the Sierra Morena in the direction of the rich fertile plain of the Guadalimar, always travelling south. The route lay through Vilches, which was rather more than seven miles away from La Peñuela. It was a small place, perched upon three hills surrounded by smaller hummocks covered with bushes and low scrub, with a castle built of stone on the top of the highest hill, which was conical in shape. Six miles or so farther on, they passed through Arquillos, a group of farm-houses on a small flat ledge of ground watered on the north-west by the Guadalén. After encircling a hill in a westerly direction the two travellers were at the Ariza bridge over the river Guadalimar.[2] They had traversed almost twenty-five miles.

The countryside was attractive — a peaceful valley hidden away between high hills with smooth rounded summits, and a small fertile plain, silent, nestling there almost timidly as if conscious of being guarded by those heights which seemed to peep over to see the river flowing between the poplars, oleanders and tamarisks. The bridge which spanned the river from north to south was of dressed stone, reddish in colour like the waters of the Guadalimar. It had five Roman arches — one in the centre, as wide as the normal bed of the river, and four small ones, two at each side of the main arch. Beneath one of these, always dry except when the river was in spate, and especially so at this time in the height of the Andalusian summer, Fray John of the Cross

and the youth stopped to rest. The sick man was weary and had no appetite. For three or four days now he had not been able to eat anything to do him good. Whenever the youth asked if he would like something to eat, he always answered negatively. 'Some asparagus, if there were any', he said finally, by the Guadalimar bridge. Very near, on a stone in the river, the youth saw a bunch of the kind of asparagus that grows among wheat — 'bread' asparagus as P. Bartolomé de San Basilio, who saw it that evening, called it. 'Go and get it', said Fray John to the youth, after having made him look for the owner of the land, 'and put a stone where it is and upon it four maravedís.' The youth gathered the asparagus, putting the four maravedís on the stone, so that the supposed owner should not find himself defrauded, and they resumed their journey towards Ubeda. The path wound up the hill to the left of the river, always facing south. There were more than ten miles of undulating hills, covered with oak-trees, cork-oaks and fields of thyme.[3] Fray John had been very familiar with this part of the country during the years he was rector of Baeza, which lay a bare fourteen miles ahead.

When they reached Ubeda, while the brother cook dressed the asparagus, which was to form the sick man's entire supper, Fray John told the fathers 'as a joke' the story of their find, divesting it of any miraculous character. The friars, however, looked upon it as a miracle, for it was not the right time of year for asparagus, P. Bartolomé de San Basilio was not satisfied with looking at it but took it in his hands.

At this time, in 1591, Ubeda was an important city. Among its narrow, winding streets, genuinely Arabic in character, and within its walls, were buildings of different styles of architecture: Santa María de los Reales Alcázares, a Moorish mosque when Alphonso VIII conquered the city nine days after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, and transformed into a Christian church after the final re-conquest by St Ferdinand on Michaelmas day, 29 September 1234; San Pablo, another transformed mosque, with its sixteenth-century apse and its tower recently constructed by Cardinal Merino; the Casa de las Torres, a most beautiful palace in Renaissance style, the residence of the Marqués de Pescara, one of Charles V's captains; the Gothic façade of San Nicolás; the magnificent Hospital de Santiago, recently constructed; Santa Clara, with traces of the *mudéjar* style. . . .

The monastery of the Carmelite friars was in the extreme south-

east of the city by the eastern wall, looking on to the gipsy quarter which lay below it. In the distance could be discerned, behind the grey hills of calcareous earth, the green mass of the Sierra de Cazorla, beyond which the sun rose. To the right lay the valley of the Guadalquivir, which flowed about three miles or so to the south of the city, and in the distance the snowy mass of the Sierra Nevada. The monastery, founded in the year 1587 in some houses belonging to doña María de Segura, was poor and small.[4]

Fray John of the Cross was welcomed by the friars with joy. There were many there who loved him, who had been his former subjects and thus had experience of his virtue and the fatherly way he governed. Here was P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios, from Burguillos, his first novice at the monastery of Los Mártires in Granada, of whose strange entry into the Discalced Carmelites — Fray John's work — we have already heard. Here also were P. Fernando de la Madre de Dios (as sub-prior) to whom he had given the habit at El Calvario, and P. Bartolomé de San Basilio, whom he had sent for to fill the office of master of novices in the Granada monastery. . . . The prior, Fray Francisco Crisóstomo, on the other hand, was unfriendly in his reception. The community, in which there were valiant and illustrious men, was unsettled, for the friars were dissatisfied with the way of procedure of P. Crisóstomo. A man of learning and a noted preacher, but of sour and uneven temperament, he was completely lacking in the qualities which make a good ruler and could not succeed in governing the house satisfactorily, being bent on bringing all along the way of perfection by force. 'He was most rigid and particularly against those who had the reputation of being saints', said his subject P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios. It was not the first time. Already, earlier, in Castile, his bad government had been seen in the treatment meted out to P. Domingo, a religious who was ill and in need. He was a man, in short, who, lacking a heart of charity for his brethren, yet wished to 'bring others to perfection by the rod'.

Apart from this circumstance, P. Francisco Crisóstomo had the same reason for hostility towards Fray John of the Cross as P. Diego Evangelista — when Fray John was Vicar-Provincial of Andalusia he had called him to order on one occasion. The friars knew this, and P. Francisco Crisóstomo, resenting it, neither forgot it nor forgave his late Superior for it. Without taking into

consideration the pitiable state in which the sick man arrived, he gave him the 'poorest and most narrow cell' there was in the monastery — nothing more was in it than a poor bed and an image of Christ — and obliged him to be present at community offices. One day when Fray John excused himself from going to the refectory, the prior sent for him and reprimanded him harshly before the rest of the community.

Fray John could not [do what he was asked], however, for a few days after he arrived at Ubeda, the disease broke out much more severely, and he lay down upon his wretched board never to get up again. It was erysipelas in the instep of the right foot, which had begun by a pimple that had now become a virulent inflammation, breaking into five wounds in the form of a cross. Fray John looked at them not only with resignation but even with affection, for they reminded him of the five wounds of the Redeemer. One of them, that in the centre, was in the exact place where the wound made by the nail in Christ's foot must have been. This was the largest and the one that gave him most devotion. He made the remark himself to P. Agustín de San José, who had been a former subject of his in Granada.

The surgeon, Ambrosio de Villarreal, found himself obliged to lance the leg. Without anything in the nature of a sedative to neutralize the pain, the surgical scissors scraped from the heel upwards along the shin-bone, for two inches or more, said P. Fernando, who was present at the operation — 'more than a quarter of its length' asserted the infirmarian, Fray Diego de Jesús, who was also present. Whereas P. Fernando shuddered merely to see it, Fray John of the Cross, when he felt the prolonged cutting of the scissors, said gently to the doctor, 'What has your honour, done, Señor Licenciate?' 'I have opened your reverence's foot and leg and you ask me what I have done to you?' Fray John said to Brother Diego de Jesús, 'If it is necessary to cut more, well and good, and may the will of our Lord Jesus Christ be done.'

The medical treatment was painful. The surgeon cut pieces of the flesh, he probed among the nerves, cauterizing the wounds, and put thin gut in, allowing the bone to be seen. Throughout it all he made 'good incisions with his knife'. Meanwhile the patient, his hands joined before his breast, as he was accustomed to place them to make his prayer, bore the terrible treatment with a cheerful countenance. The flesh was putrefying into pus which

flowed constantly and in abundance. Whole cups were filled with pus, two or three in the morning and two or three others in the evening. It did not, however, smell unpleasant, the odour was like that of musk. The smell was so far from being disagreeable that Fray Diego de Jesús felt no repugnance in putting the pus to his lips.

The bandages, gut and pieces of cloth used for the treatment, which were saturated with the pus, had the same delightful fragrance, which was noted by everyone. Doña María de Molina in particular and her two daughters, Catalina and Inés de Salazar, who undertook to wash them, noticed this. The two sisters argued as to who should wash the bandages, for in spite of the fact that they arrived as if they had been plunged in a fountain of pus, at times 'with small pieces of flesh which had been cut away from the wounds sticking to them', it seemed to the two girls that instead of handling cloths steeped in pus, they were touching roses. They even found their pious task restful. The two sisters disputed so much over washing this linen that their mother had to establish a rota and 'one day Catalina did the washing of them and the next day Inés'. From that time onwards, doña María entrusted this task to no one but her two daughters. On one occasion, instead of the accustomed perfume, they noticed a bad odour from the bandages and Inés said to her sister Catalina, 'Either our father is going to die or these pieces of linen are not his.' When Fray Pedro de San José, whose task it was to bring them the soiled linen and fetch back the clean, came to collect it, they told him of the unpleasant smell they had noticed on this occasion. The brother could not understand it, but on arriving at the monastery mentioned it to the infirmarian who was able to supply the reason — it was because that time not only were the bandages of Fray John of the Cross sent, but also those of P. Mateo del Santśimo Sacramento who was suffering from a wound in the shoulder. On going to Mass the younger sister, Inés de Salazar, learned that the mystery of the bad odour they had noticed that particular day was now cleared up.

At times they sent messages to the patient with the washed bandages. Catalina, who for some time had had a wish to be a nun without seeing her desire fulfilled, asked Brother Pedro to ask him how long she was going to remain without being a nun, and why he did not ask that for her from our Lord. Fray John answered her, through the same channel, that our Lord had

waited longer than that for her and it was not much for her now to wait for him three years. In point of fact, three years afterwards she took the habit of the Discalced Carmelite nuns with the name of Catalina de San Alberto.

Although Fray John had chosen Ubeda because no one knew him there, the news soon spread that in the monastery of the Discalced fathers there was someone ill who was a saint, and those who tried to do something to restore him to health were many. One of his best panegyrists was the surgeon Villarreal, who extolled the virtue of his patient. He marvelled at his patience, the sweet expression with which he bore the terrible treatment, the fervour with which he constantly spoke to him of spiritual things. After the patient himself, no one knew better than he how unbearable were the sufferings that disease involved, rapidly destroying the organic tissues, as it did. Only a saint could be like that, he said to all those who asked him how Fray John was. He even kept some of the bandages he removed from him, to apply afterwards to his patients.

One of the families who took most interest in him and surrounded him with most affection was that of don Bartolomé Ortega Cabrio. They were old benefactors of the Discalced friars, and for some time had heard about Fray John's virtue, although doña Clara de Benavides did not know him by sight. It was the parents of don Bartolomé who, when Fray John was Superior at El Calvario, sent up to the monastery the donkey loaded with provisions the day when the friars had nothing to eat. Fray John had wept then, half from emotion, half from grief to see that the Lord would not allow them to suffer hunger. Don Bartolomé was the brother of P. Fernando de la Madre de Dios, sub-prior of the monastery of Ubeda. It was from that house that the bandages for the sick man came. Doña Clara bought them and gave them in a little basket to Doctor Villarreal, a family friend, to take to the patient. She also prepared his food. She had taken this upon herself ever since one day, when she was visiting the sanctuaries, she had seen a boy with a small basket. They told her he was bringing the food for Fray John of the Cross and from that time she undertook to prepare it in her house. Everything turned out in her favour — the shops were open even at the wrong times when it was a matter of buying something for the patient. Nobody put obstacles in the way, and there was nothing that could not be found when it was needed for Fray John. The cooks said

in astonishment that the contents of the pots in which the broth was prepared for him seemed to increase miraculously. This was proved. They set aside equal portions for don Bartolomé, the master of the house, and for Fray John of the Cross, yet the portion intended for the latter became more substantial. This same lady sometimes prepared the food for Fray John with her own hands.

Once the meal was prepared, a girl of fourteen who was one of doña Clara's servants carried it to the monastery. Her name was María de Ortega. One day — perhaps Fray John was receiving treatment outside the cloister, or they allowed her to go up to the sick man's cell because she was such a child — she was present at a treatment given him by Doctor Robres. The child noticed that, during the treatment, the doctor secretly put into his pocket the gut and linen he removed from the wounds, although they were soaked through with pus. When she returned home, doña Clara asked her how the patient was. The child said she was amazed that he did not complain during the treatment and, remembering what she had seen the doctor do, exclaimed: 'My lady, what a horrid man Doctor Robres is! The gut and bandages full of pus which he removes from Fray John of the Cross's wounds he puts in his pockets and takes away with him.' 'Be quiet, you silly child,' replied doña Clara 'for they are relics which give out a very good odour, for Fray John of the Cross is a saint and it is for that reason that Doctor Robres takes those things away.'

When don Bartolomé's servants received orders not to prepare Fray John's food any more, because he had said that it was too luxurious and he wanted it prepared in the monastery, they were very sorry. It gave them real pleasure — they were convinced they were working for a saint.

Doña Clara sent the patient messages through the doctor. One day she asked him to pray to God to grant her a happy confinement, and Fray John assured her that it would be so and that the little creature would go to enjoy the presence of God. Doña Clara happily gave birth to a girl who was baptized with the name of Elena and who, five months after her birth, went away to heaven. The sick man could not thank this family enough for their delicate kindness in his regard. He said so repeatedly to P. Fernando — doña Clara's brother-in-law, as we know — charging him to convey his gratitude to her. Doña Clara, how-

ever, did not see him alive again. The day of Fray John's burial, when they brought him down to the church, she was to be one of those who went to weep over him and venerate his remains. Afterwards, she liked to sit at the foot of his tomb, taking care that nobody should step on the slab that covered the body of the holy Fray John of the Cross.

Many people paid Fray John visits during his illness. Don Bartolomé, doña Clara's husband, went to see him every day, often taking with him his son Francisco, a boy of nine. Juan de la Peñuela, who was thirty-four, often visited him, and many times was present at the treatment, seeing the surgeon cut away pieces of flesh. He carried away one of the bandages steeped in pus, which smelt of musk. With it he was to cure many sick people. Two old friends of Fray John, Cristóbal de la Higuera and Juan de Cuéllar, those who used to go to El Calvario when he was Superior there, came up to the poor and narrow cell. We have seen them accompanying the friars when they went out for a picnic on to the wooded mountain-slopes — the picnic that these two friends had brought them. Cristóbal de la Higuera was the one who one day shared in the miraculous meal of Fray John. It was Juan de Cuéllar who provided the mule on which the sick man came over from La Peñuela.

We have already heard María Ortega, the child of fourteen who brought up the meal to the sick man, say that she saw Doctor Robres treating him. The surgeon who was attending him was not Doctor Robres but Doctor Villarreal, but Doctor Robres, who went to visit him specially, drawn by the fame of his holiness, also gave him certain treatments. He was also visited by Salvadaro de Quesada, a townsman of Ubeda, who was later to give testimony in the beatification inquiry, and Doctor don Lope de Molina, a priest. His old penitent, María de la Paz, even came from Baeza to see him, although she was not able to do so, for the patient was then inside the monastery enclosure. The Discalced nuns of Sabiote, whose confessor or director he had also been, since it was impossible for them to come to Ubeda, sent him linen for bandages and delicacies for his illness. Fray John was grateful to them for this and sent a message to them that soon he would repay them from heaven.

Everyone tried to give him what relief they could. Doña María Bazán, sister of the Marqués de Santa Cruz, who lived in Baeza, wanted to have him brought there to look after him, and had

already obtained leave of the Provincial. Fray John, however, who was informed of this by P. Bartolomé de San Basilio, refused to leave Ubeda, saying he was all right there. Fray Pedro de San José, who remained alone in the monastery because the friars had gone out to accompany a funeral, went up to Fray John's cell and, full of sympathy for his sad loneliness, and for his sufferings, said to him, 'Father, would you like me to bring you some musicians to entertain you and give you courage?' The sick man replied that, if it was an easy matter, he might bring them. The infirmarian, delighted at being able to give Fray John that relief, immediately left the monastery in search of the musicians and returned with three. The musicians began to tune their guitars, but the patient, as if repenting of his weakness in consenting to that pleasure, called Fray Pedro and said to him:

> Brother, I am very grateful for the charity you wanted to show me and I appreciate it very much, but it would not be right, when God wants to favour me with these great sufferings I am undergoing, that I should try to soften and moderate them with music and entertainment. For the love of our Lord, therefore, thank these gentlemen for their charity and the good work they want to do in my regard, which I consider as already done, and give them something and send them away, for it is my desire to suffer these favours and mercies which God is sending me without any alleviation, in order to have greater merit from them.

Fray Pedro therefore gave the musicians something to eat and sent them away. They were some children brought from the house of Fernando Díaz, the father of Catalina and Inés de Salazar.[5]

With this solicitude of both religious and seculars to relieve the sick man, must be contrasted the attitude of the prior, Fray Francisco Crisóstomo. He was vexed by the expenses occasioned by the illness, the visits that were made to the sick man, the interest, each day more intense and more widespread, with which so many citizens of Ubeda inquired about him. He could not conceal it. Fray Diego de la Concepción, prior of La Peñuela, who sometimes came over to visit Fray John, noticed the displeasure on P. Crisóstomo's face. He realized that he did not like having the patient in his monastery, that he grieved over what the sick man ate, and that, although he owed him much for former kindness he had received from him, he did not even see that he got what was necessary. He reproached him with it, saying that he should not grieve over what the sick man cost the monastery, nor go about

in this way with a frowning face. Did not don Bartolomé's family send him the patient's food every day? And if this was not sufficient, he himself would send it him from his monastery at La Peñuela. He did so, moreover. When he got back he sent six bushels and more of wheat for the friars and six chickens for the patient.

The material necessities of the house, however, were no more than a pretext on the part of the prior. He felt a real aversion to Fray John. Fray Bernardo de la Virgen, one of those who most constantly attended as infirmarian, observed that P. Crisóstomo thwarted the sick man all he could: he forbade the friars to visit him without his express permission; when he went into his cell he said things calculated to wound; he even reminded him, as if avenging himself, of certain unpleasant incidents belonging to the past. Fray Bernardo said 'the things that happened in this way were incredible'. He even forbade them to wash the bandages. One day the patient asked Fray Francisco, a lay-brother who later was to leave the Order, to do him the charity of taking the dirty bandages to the house of doña María de Molina. The lay-brother collected them up and went away to do what he had been asked. When Fray Francisco said that he was going to take the bandages, P. Crisóstomo told him to leave them and not bother about them. Fray Francisco then lamented the fact in Fray John of the Cross's cell, but the patient said to him sweetly, 'Don't trouble about it, brother. Commend the matter to God and have patience, for he will provide.'

As the prior did not give the sick man what was necessary, the religious (among them P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios) went out into the street in search of food and medicines. Fray John knew about this — many a time they lamented in his presence at not being able to give him what he needed, because P. Crisóstomo said that the monastery was poor. 'Blessed be God,' said the sick man meekly, 'for the time will come when this monastery will have what is now lacking.' He always found an excuse for the prior — no one heard him utter a complaint against him.

There was one, however, to raise the voice of protest — it was, in point of fact, a lay-brother, Fray John's infirmarian, Fray Bernardo de la Virgen, the one who slept in the same cell to be with him and attend to his needs. Fray John could not thank him enough for what he did for him or sufficiently excuse himself for the trouble he gave him. The father-prior, vexed because Fray

Bernardo looked after the patient with kindness, ordered him under obedience to cease acting as infirmarian to him. The brother, indignant, did not leave matters there and wrote immediately to the Provincial of Andalusia, informing him of what was happening in Ubeda. The Provincial was P. Antonio de Jesús, Fray John's old companion in setting on foot the Carmelite Reform in Duruelo. He had not always behaved well towards Fray John, doubtless on account of differences of opinion and even through certain fears that the latter might take away from him the glory of having been the first Discalced friar, as we have already seen. This time, however, he immediately hastened to the sick man's side, rebuked the prior sternly for his behaviour, ordered the friars to pay him visits, and, restoring Fray Bernardo to the office of infirmarian, charged him to look after the patient with kindness. If the prior refused to give him anything needed, he was to buy it himself, getting the money where he could — then he was to advise him and he would pay it in full out of the funds belonging to the Province.

P. Antonio arrived, with P. Agustín de San José, on 27 November, and he reminded Fray John of the date of the foundation of Duruelo which the two of them had made on 28 November 1568. 'Father,' said the Provincial to the sick friar, 'it will be twenty-four years to-morrow since we began the first foundation.'[6] The friars who were present asked Padre Antonio to tell them the story of that day, and the venerable old man began to speak of the trials and difficulties they had suffered in the beginning of the Reform. 'Father,' interrupted Fray John, vexed, 'what about the word you gave me that in our life we were not to discuss or know anything about all that?' The Provincial said no more. The friars, however, continued to ask about it and in the course of the conversation fresh details of what happened then escaped Padre Antonio. Fray John said, as if regretting it, 'He will go telling them everything little by little.'

The body of the sick man was gradually becoming an altar of pain. It was now not only the legs which were ulcerated — the disease had spread to the back, and a fresh tumour had opened wide, deep wounds there. The patient said nothing, but one day P. Bartolomé de San Basilio took him in his arms to put him on the ground upon a mattress whilst they put his bed to rights, and when they were going to put him on it again and P. Basilio went to pick him up once more to settle him on the board that formed

his bed, Fray John asked him to leave him and he would manage by himself. Little by little he dragged himself along until he reached the bed. Only when P. Basilio was complaining that he had not allowed him to lift him, did he discover the reason — it was, said the sick man, to avoid his hurting his back when he picked him up. They made an examination and saw that there was in it 'a great tumour, bigger than one's fist, from which on the following day they drew much pus'. P. Basilio then realized what pain he must have caused him by moving him from the board. Yet the patient had not complained.

He could now no longer help himself. His wounds and weakness prevented him even from changing his posture. To relieve him they hung from the ceiling of the cell a rope which came down on to the bed — by clinging on to the rope he could move a little. He scarcely spoke, only repeating from time to time some ejaculatory prayers or verses of Scripture. P. Bartolomé de San Basilio heard him say, as if finding pleasure in the sufferings which were wearing him away, *Haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi.* 'More patience, more love and more pain', he would say at other times. Cristóbal de la Higuera, his friend, heard him say, while they were cutting and cauterizing pieces of his flesh, that he envied the torments of the martyrs. He even longed for martyrdom, as if what he was suffering was not sufficient.

After 6 December he frequently asked what day it was. On the 7th, the eve of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, a change for the worse was noted in the wounds; this was indicated, moreover, by a rise in the patient's temperature. The doctor called P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios aside and told him he ought to tell the sick man he was dying. The doctor did not dare to tell him himself. P. Alonso promised to do so but asked the licenciate Villarreal to come into the sick man's cell that he might tell him in his presence. When the two of them stood by the patient's bed, P. Alonso said, 'Fray John, the licentiate says your reverence is coming to your end. Make your peace with God.' 'That I am dying?' answered Fray John, and joining his hands before his breast he said with a joyful face — *Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus.*

On Wednesday, the 11th, he asked for the viaticum, which he received with great fervour. Among those who were present was P. Fernando, the sub-prior. 'I am going from this world', said Fray John to Brother Diego, who would not be parted from his

side. The brother, deeply moved, knelt down and asked for his blessing. Fray John wanted to excuse himself from giving it, but the brother took his hand, kissed it, weeping, and forced him to bless him. 'Fray Diego, are you sorry that I am dying?' The kindly lay-brother told him he was, but that he was accepting the will of God, which it was his desire should always be done, and the patient, thanking him, advised him to keep this disposition in all things.

Until this moment Fray John had kept a folder of letters under his pillow. They were the most recent he had received, almost all relating to the defamatory process which had been going on against him. There were certainly there those written by P. Juan de Santa Ana and P. Juan Evangelista, his favourite disciples, informing him of the infamous accusations which were raised against him, preying upon his good name as the wounds were eating into his flesh. Fray John wanted to destroy them. On the 12th he called P. Bartolomé de San Basilio, asked him for a light and in his presence burned even the superscriptions.

The Provincial frequently came to the sick man's bedside.[7] To console him he said to him, 'Fray John, take much courage. Have confidence in God and remember the works we did and the trials we suffered in the beginnings of this Order.' 'Do not say that to me, father,' interrupted the patient emphatically. 'Do not say that to me, father. Tell me my sins!' He then remained quiet, with his eyes closed, no doubt in prayer.

It was the 13th. Fray John knew that he was dying moment by moment and he told Fray Diego to call the father-prior. When he came — the brother was also in the sick man's cell — after having asked pardon of P. Francisco Crisóstomo for the trouble and expense he had occasioned him during his illness, he said to him: 'Father, there is our Lady's habit which I have had in use. I am poor and I have nothing with which to be buried. For the love of God I beseech your reverence to give it me as an alms,' and he asked his blessing. The prior, touched with compunction, asked him to forgive him in his turn because he had not been able to look after him as he would have liked, owing to the poverty of his house. 'Father-prior,' replied the sick man, 'I am happy and have more than I deserve, and do not worry or distress yourself that this house is in need, but have confidence in our Lord, for the time will come when this monastery will have all that is necessary.' P. Crisóstomo was deeply moved and went out of the cell in tears.

Afterwards P. Bartolomé de San Basilio saw him kneel three times before the sick man's bed, and finally ask him for his breviary to keep in memory of him. 'I have nothing of my own to give your reverence', Fray John said to him; 'all is yours, for you are my Superior.'

When he had received extreme unction, which he asked for himself, he took a crucifix in his hands and kissed the feet of it repeatedly, saying ejaculatory prayers or verses from the Scriptures. P. Agustín de San José said to him, 'Now is the time for our Lord to repay your reverence for your great sufferings.' 'Do not say that to me, father, for I assure you that I have not done anything which is not now a reproach to me.' And to the Father-Provincial, who spoke to him, he said, 'Father, forgive me that I cannot answer you, for I am consumed with pain.'

From ten o'clock at night he constantly asked Brother Pedro what time it was. When he told him it was ten o'clock, he told the friars to go away and rest and he would advise them when it was time. When the friars had withdrawn, he remained recollected in prayer. An hour and a half afterwards he again asked the time. 'It is half past eleven', Fray Pedro told him. Fray John's face lit up with joy and he exclaimed, 'Now the hour is approaching; call the fathers.' In a few minutes fourteen or fifteen religious came into his cell with their lamps lighted, hanging them from the wall in due order. Fray Francisco was already at the sick man's bedside. The fathers asked Fray John how he felt, and he, clinging to the rope that was hanging from the ceiling, managed to pull himself up, sat on the board and said to them — 'Would you like us to say the psalm *De profundis*, for I am quite able for that?' They recited it alternately, the sick man one verse and the community the other. Then they recited the *Miserere* and the *In te, Domine, speravi*. Meanwhile, Fray Francisco, the lay-brother who was at the sick man's bedside, thought he saw a ball of light starting from the ceiling of the poor little cell and reaching down to the sick man's feet, extinguishing the brightness of the twenty lights of candles and oil lamps there were in the room.

When the recitation of the psalms was finished, Fray John felt tired and lay down again. After a few moments of rest which he spent in prayer, he asked the Prior to bring him the Blessed Sacrament that he might adore our Lord and say his farewell. When the Sacred Host was present he broke into ejaculations which deeply moved the friars, and when the Blessed Sacrament

was withdrawn, he exclaimed, 'Lord, I shall never again see you with mortal eyes.' 'What time is it?' he asked once more. They told him it was not yet twelve. 'At that time I shall be saying matins in the presence of God our Lord.' P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios and other religious were startled and began, a little flurried, to turn over the pages of the breviary or the manual, looking for the recommendation of the departing soul. The sick man noticed it and said to them sweetly, 'Leave it, for the love of God, and be quiet.' He exhorted the community to keep the rule and to obedience to their Superiors.

P. Alonso reminded him that it was Friday, and that if he died that night, before Saturday began, he would gain the Sabbatine indulgence of the Carmelite scapular and our Lady would release him from purgatory immediately. Fray John smiled. Had he not just said that at midnight he would be saying matins in heaven? The prior began to read the recommendation of the departing soul. 'Speak to me, father, of the Canticle of Canticles, for that is not necessary,' he said to him graciously. When they were reading him the verses of the Canticle of Canticles, he commented with longing, 'What precious pearls.'

There were in Fray John's cell Padre Antonio de Jesús, Provincial, and the prior and religious of the monastery. Among them were P. Francisco de Jesús, el Indigno; P. Fernando, subprior; Bernardo de la Madre de Dios, P. Alonso, Bartolomé de San Basilio, Antonio de San Cristóbal. In addition there were P. Agustín de San José who had come with the Provincial, and P. Cristóbal de Jesús, prior of El Calvario. Up to a few moments earlier there had also been some secular persons, friends of his — Cristóbal de la Higuera, Diego Navarro and Juan de Cuéllar. The patient, however, said to them, 'Retire now and may God be with you, for now it is time to close the monastery; to-night I have to go and say matins in heaven.' They then went away. The only one who remained, as far as we know, was don Fernando Díaz, father of Catalina and Inés who had washed his bandages.

Midnight struck by the clock on the church of El Salvador. Fray Francisco came out of the sick man's cell to ring for matins. 'What are they ringing for?' asked Fray John when he heard the first strokes of the bell. When they told him it was for matins, as if they had given him the signal of his departure he exclaimed joyfully, 'Glory be to God for I shall say them in heaven.' He put his lips to the crucifix he was holding in his hands, said slowly

In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum and breathed his last.

There had been no struggles or contortions of agony. His face, which before was the colour of wheat, was white now, transparent with radiance; and the body, full of wounds, began to distil the fragrance of roses. It was 14 December 1591.

The Prior of Ubeda.— The author has already told us how, a few moments before Fray John died, P. Crisóstomo asked his pardon and went out of his cell weeping. Something more may be added to this, namely that the father-prior became a fervent panegyrist of Fray John's sanctity, a distributor of his relics and, what is more, an imitator of his virtues. He eventually died in the odour of sanctity on the day of the saint's feast. MS 13460 says: 'It was the father-prior who collected most relics for himself and to send to various houses of friars and nuns of the Order; he gave don Bartolomé Ortega the *Canciones*. . . .' In the margin against his profession entry in the Register of Professions of Los Remedios of Seville, where he was a novice, may be read the following in praise of P. Crisóstomo:

> He died 24 November 1608. He was an excellent preacher, a subject of great talent, most zealous for the advancement of souls, which he greatly promoted by his sermons. He had a distinguished reputation with princes, ecclesiastics and seculars and was considered a saint by all the people. He died in Algaba. The Marquesses did not want to give up his body, for they venerated him as a saint, as he truly was. Cardinal Niño, Archbishop of Seville, said of him the day he died that the Church had lost one of the greatest pillars she had. His body was translated to our Colegio del Ángel, in Seville.

In this way St John of the Cross repaid the crown of thorns which the prior wove for him at the time of his death, transforming it into a crown of holiness.

The Blessed Virgin announced Fray John's death to him.— As has just been seen, after 7 December, Fray John frequently asked what day it was and on the 13th the time, declaring that at midnight he would go to sing matins in heaven.

This makes it clear that he had exact knowledge of the day and time of his death, as was stated by P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios, an authority of outstanding importance, since he was pro-

curator of all the information for the process of beatification. His own testimony runs: 'A week beforehand he knew the day and time of his death and, from what one saw and heard, he was understood to have been advised of it by the Mother of God, for, speaking of her, he said: 'Blessed be that Lady, for on her day, Saturday, she wants me to depart this life,' and this warning to him had been on Saturday, the eve of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady.' (MS 19404, fo. 176.)

There is nothing surprising about this when one reads the many wonders with which the Queen of Carmel had favoured Fray John of the Cross since his infancy. There are extant certain documents (not put forward by the author) in addition to those quoted in the notes to ch. 17, which show the burning love the saint had for the Blessed Virgin. Referring to his fall into the well at Medina, Francisca de la Madre de Dios declared: 'From that time he had a great love for our Lady, so much so that wherever he saw a painting of her it gave him great consolation to look at it, and he remembered when he had received that favour of her and delighted in looking at the picture, on seeing which his love grew greater as he realized with what care she performed the office of Mother for him.' (MS 12738, fo. 417.) P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios repeats this almost in the same words: 'The many favours which the Mother of God bestowed upon him had increased his love for her so much that even to see a painting of her made him glad and put light and love in his soul, for this made him remember having seen her, the favours received from her, for this Lady had been as a Mother to him.' (MS 19404, fo. 176.) His tender devotion was shown even more clearly in the phrase uttered at Caravaca on the occasion to which María del Sacramento refers: 'The said venerable Father Fray John of the Cross was very devout to our Blessed Lady and this he showed in all his sermons and discussions, and when the said venerable father was in this convent talking with this witness and other religious, seeing an image of our Lady and expressing the great devotion which he had to her, he said, 'I should be very happy in a desert alone with this image.' (MS 12738, fo. 323.) — *Editor's note.*

21

PORTRAIT OF ST JOHN OF THE CROSS

THE portrait drawn of Fray John of the Cross by P. Eliseo de los Mártires begins with these words, 'I knew Fray John of the Cross and spoke with him and was in contact with him many times and often',[1] and continues:

> He was a man in body of medium size, of grave and venerable countenance, somewhat swarthy and of good features; his bearing and conversation were peaceful, very spiritual and full of profit for those who listened to and talked with him. In this he was so outstanding and helpful that those who came in contact with him, men and women, came away made spiritual, full of devotion and with a love for virtue. He had a deep knowledge and experience of prayer and contact with God, and to all the questions which were put to him on these points he replied with the deepest wisdom, leaving those who consulted him very satisfied and full of profit. He was fond of recollection and of little speaking; his laughter was rare and very controlled. When as Superior he rebuked, which was often, it was with sweet severity, exhorting with fatherly love and with admirable serenity and gravity.

This is the best portrait we have of St John of the Cross, a first-hand picture of both his appearance and his character which will be found to be confirmed by numerous references from those who knew and came into contact with him.[2]

Although no certainly genuine physical portrait of Fray John has come down to us — we have already seen what uncertainty there is in regard to the whereabouts of the one a painter made in Granada[3]— there are sufficient data to reconstruct his physical appearance fairly closely. A series of primitive portraits which are curiously like each other, lead one to think that there is a model common to all of them, supposing, to put things at the worst, that none of them is the original portrait. There are two from Granada, two from Ubeda and two from Segovia.[4] To these must be added, on account of the identical coincidence of physical features, a

picture which is preserved in the convent of the Discalced Carmelites of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, some primitive portraits drawn in pen and ink, such as those which relate to the apparitions which took place as a result of the application of the saint's relics, in some of which he appears kneeling before the Blessed Virgin and the Child Jesus; the portrait with which Fray Jerónimo de San José illustrated his *Historia del venerable padre fray Juan de la Cruz*, which is called the true likeness — *vera effigies;* that which occurs on p. 186, bk. II, chapter 9, of the same work, representing the saint contemplating the vision of Christ at the convent of the Incarnation in Ávila, both being pictures made by Pannela; an oil painting preserved by the Carmelite fathers of Valladolid, and another in which the saint is in a group of figures of the Order, in possession of the Carmelite fathers of Córdoba; numerous pictures placed as frontispieces to the first editions of the works of St John of the Cross. . . . All, with slight variations, more or less successfully reflect the same features — the oval face, broad forehead receding into a baldness which gives it a venerable appearance, slightly aquiline nose, gentle expression, arched eyebrows, leanness of body.[5]

We have already learnt from P. Eliseo de los Mártires that he was 'somewhat swarthy'— the 'colour of wheat' other accounts say. Usually he had some growth of beard and moustache — a detail exaggerated in some portraits such as those of Pannels, utilized and surely originally inspired by P. Jerónimo.[6] His stature can be fixed almost with mathematical certainty by the remains of his incorrupt body, which give little more than 4′ 10″. He was, then, small — 'a man of medium-sized body', said P. Eliseo; 'a small . . . man', said the Discalced nun María de San Pedro, who was his penitent; 'between medium and small in stature,' concluded Jerónimo de San José, in an endeavour to tone down the expression. St Teresa, on the other hand, frequently drew attention to the reduced stature of Fray John of the Cross. Apart from the expression 'Now I have a friar and a half', which, perhaps contrary to St Teresa's intention, as we saw, certain people interpreted in the sense that the 'half friar' was Fray John of the Cross on account of his small stature — in contrast with Fray Antonio de Heredia with his important-looking figure — there is no doubt that Madre Teresa did allude to it when she used diminutives to describe him — 'My little Seneca', 'the holy little Fray John'— and, above all in this phrase in

which she speaks of his imprisonment, 'All the nine months he was in a small prison where, small as he is, there was not enough room for him to move.' Earlier in 1568 when introducing Fray John to Francisco de Salcedo, she wrote, 'Let your honour speak with this father . . . , for, although he is small, he is, I feel, big in the eyes of God.'

Frugal as regards food and sparing of sleep, a constant chastiser of his body by severe and prolonged disciplines, the victim of constant persecutions which penetrated to his very soul, he was thin and frail. Even before his imprisonment, from which he came out no more than skin and bone, as we learned from the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Toledo, he was so thin, even when he was in his youthful prime of a man of thirty, that St Teresa wrote to king Philip II, 'And this friar, so great a servant of God, is so thin from the much he has suffered that I fear for his life.' 'He was very thin and wasted through the great penance he did,' said Ana María, referring to this same period during which he was her confessor.

The humble figure of Fray John was completed by an old, narrow, short, rough habit, so coarse that the cloak seemed to be made of goat-hair, and so rough that it stood out among the fifty habits to be seen at the Chapter in Alcalá where there were so many coarse and darned habits among those venerable fathers of the early days. A small bonnet or skull-cap of dark brown serge completed his humble attire.[7]

St John of the Cross was not ugly. In spite of being 'not a handsome man' as his penitent, María de San Pedro, said, the expression of the features taken as a whole, of his look and his gestures, gave his face a sweet attractiveness which stands out in all the early portraits. If we except those of Segovia, which, to perfect the lines make the expression harder or more severe, the others, both the Granada and the Ubeda ones and even the rather mediocre portraits of Jerónimo de San José, convey in the ensemble of their features the loving sweetness of his gestures. P. Eliseo has already told us that he was 'of good physiognomy' and Fray Juan Evangelista, the saint's companion for nine years, said in an unpublished account that he was 'pleasing to look at'. There was something in his face which gave joy — a reflection of spirituality, a subtle cross-light of intimate and exquisite sweetness which escaped through his features, transfiguring them. This was the effect which those who saw him experienced. 'This wit-

ness,' said María de San Pedro, 'full of amazement at the circumstances in which she found herself, has reflected many times that although the said holy Fray John was not a handsome man, but small and with the signs of mortification about him, and although he had not the exterior qualities which attract the world; yet, with all this, something shone through him or this witness saw something of God in him, lifting her eyes as it were beyond herself to look at and listen to him. Looking at him she seemed to see in him a majesty beyond that given to men of this world.'[8]

A combination of high moral qualities, persistently outstanding for those who lived with him, gave his countenance an attraction not explained by the features of his face. They never saw him angry, impatient or not master of himself; he never said one word in a higher tone than another; unalterably serene as if he had no passions, absolute master of all the impulses of soul and body. An abiding though quiet joy, from which unrestrained laughter was wholly absent, constantly lit up his countenance. He was the enemy of spiritual melancholy, and when he saw one of his subjects sad he would take him by the hand and carry him off for a walk with him in the *huerta* or out in the country and would not leave him until he was cheerful and optimistic again.[9] Even when talking of the things of God, he liked to make his friars laugh, sprinkling his spiritual conversation with amusing stories.

Fond of simplicity and straightforwardness, he shunned all ostentation of authority, sharing with his subjects in the most humble tasks such as sweeping and washing the dishes, and leaving his prior's seat to go and read in the refectory while the others were finishing their meal. At recreation he busied himself making little baskets of osier or carving small images in wood with a lancet.[10]

He was kindly towards all and never gave orders imperiously, faithful to his saying that 'in nothing does one show oneself so unworthy to command as when one does so with imperiousness', because 'one must try to bring it about that subjects never leave their Superior's presence sad'. 'He had a rare prudence and a most sweet manner of ruling,' said one of his subjects. For this reason P. Eliseo de los Mártires said on a certain occasion that when in the Order he saw urbanity or delicacy in handling people — which is part of the Christian and monastic tradition — being lost and in its place aggression and savageness in Superiors — which is the vice proper to barbarians — he wept for it as a loss.

And he added, 'For who has ever seen the virtues and the things of God being taught by blows and with harshness?' It can thus be understood why his subjects, finding themselves governed by the heart of a father, asked their higher Superiors to assign them to the monastery where Fray John of the Cross was prior.[11] He obtained from them all that he wanted.

This kindness took on the form of maternal affection and solicitude when it was a question of the sick. In Baeza and Granada we have seen him go to any lengths to look after and relieve them, even at the cost of expense which was disproportionate in view of the poverty of the monastery. Most austere towards himself, even to the point of denying himself things most necessary, it did not matter to him, on the other hand, how costly the medicines for his sick religious were, even when he knew they could not recover; it was sufficient for him to know that they could give them some relief. Moreover, he looked after the sick personally. He visited them, spending long periods of time at their bedsides, arranged their bed, performed the most humble offices of cleanliness for them, even prepared their food and gave it to them with his own hand. If anyone devoted to him brought him some present, he could not be quick enough in taking it to his sick friars, as was the experience of the lay-brother Fray Juan de Santa Eufemia. When there were no sick in the house, he distributed the whole of any such gift among the religious, leaving nothing for himself.[12] This was a need of his tender and compassionate charity, which obliged him to give pleasure and help to his neighbours as far as he could.

Nobody heard him speak unfavourably of the others, even though they were opposed to him, nor allow murmuring in his presence, a thing he would correct severely. Even for his persecutors — both for the Calced fathers who imposed a veritable martyrdom on him in the prison at Toledo, and for that unfaithful son, the Discalced friar Diego Evangelista, who vented his fury on his father's good name — he always had words of excuse, saying that they acted in good faith. He always sought a suitable occasion to praise the virtues of others, speaking highly of the good qualities of the absent.

Fray John's affectionate nature naturally had its preferences. The *nadas* which he demanded for the ascent of Mount Carmel as a necessary condition for arriving at divine union and which, in regard to the affection of friends and relatives, find a general ex-

pression in the *Cautelas* where he writes: 'In regard to all persons have equal love and equal forgetfulness, whether they be relatives or not, keeping the heart detached from both and even in some manner more so from one's relatives, for fear lest flesh and blood quicken with natural love. . . . Hold them all as strangers. . . . Do not love one person more than another, or you will err. . . .'— a doctrine which, because misunderstood, has created a black legend of insensibility and harshness around the figure of Fray John. Such *nadas* are not in the saint's mind an end but a means, to be used in the beginnings of the spiritual life to avoid the danger of inordinate affection in a heart which is still imperfect. Once purification has been effected, however, the need for this attitude ceases to exist, for the heart now purified and under control will draw good from it all. Then it not only can but must love all things, and the predilections imposed by the difference of persons and the nature of the heart — which in the saints is more genuinely human and sensitive than in others — will come to the fore, just as through this purification the disfigurements of passion will have disappeared, while the energies for good of the passions become confirmed and strengthened.

Thus we see St John of the Cross loving his brother Francisco de Yepes tenderly, and taking him with him to Duruelo, Granada and Segovia to have him at his side, protesting when he wanted to go away. We see him lamenting that he had not seen Madre Teresa whose portrait he had with him for a long time — or writing to the Discalced nuns of Beas that 'he does not lose sight of them, calling them my beloved daughters in Christ'. Again he said to Juana de Pedraza, the young girl in Granada: 'I couldn't possibly forget you now. See how you are in my soul, as you are. . . . It would make me quite vexed if I thought, daughter in the Lord, that you believed what you say.' And to another penitent of his, doña Ana de Peñalosa, he wrote shortly before he died — 'Whom I shall always have in my mind.'

Of a sensitive disposition, Fray John loved cleanliness, both in the things connected with divine worship and in those that were for his personal use. It is said that the napkin he used at meals was found as clean at the end of a week as the day it was put out for him. There was no necessity then, in his case, for the warning Madre Teresa gave to P. Gracián on the need for cleanliness in beds and table-linen. Perhaps this love of cleanliness and neatness on the part of Fray John of the Cross contributed to that sweet

and pleasant odour which those who came up to kiss his hands or scapular noticed.

Apart, however, from these characteristics of his life, there were other elements which completed the portrait of St John of the Cross in the intellectual and moral order — his books. Although such traits are broken up in his writing, as an image is divided in a mirror, taken all together they give us a complete likeness of the author. He is there in his entirety. He is supreme intelligence in the *Ascent* and in the *Night*, oriental fantasy in the *Canticle of Canticles*, a heart of fire in the *Living Flame of Love*.

The *Ascent* and the *Dark Night* reflect the intelligence. It is the strong, certain, logical and clear quality which sees all the possible consequences inherent in a principle and goes forward implacably and without the slightest deviation even to the final consequence. A mind perfectly balanced, in control of all its movements, is not weighed down by its learning — it is rather the mind that dominates the learning making it of use and service for a higher end. Sure of itself, it does not vacillate — it affirms and denies roundly, conscious that it is in possession of the truth. Moreover, it demonstrates this with a force of analysis which examines, classifies and evaluates experience, ideas, images, memories, passions, human and divine realities, stripping them of everything that is mere appearance to lay bare the exact value of what they contain. And all this, not ordered to a relative value but set face to face with the absolute, over against God. It penetrates even the black abysses of the psychological night to witness the breaking of the spirit in tortures which are all too real. Piercing with its light the immediate darkness of the night, it perceives and announces the sweet and delightful dawn of the soul in a region of light which is already linked with the lovely country where the idyll of the *Spiritual Canticle* takes place. Such an intelligence is not only vigorous and original but is light itself.

The *Canticle* shows clearly that through that intelligence a fresh and exuberant fantasy, shot through with oriental colours and richness, shone out. A fantasy which gathers together all the beauties of visible creation in meadows, wooded mountains and river banks, night and early morning, love expressed in the whispering of the waters, wounded harts and white doves, rivers and vineyards, early wild flowers and lions' caves, flames and shepherds, knolls and sheep-pastures, abysses and groves of

cedars, apple trees and fields of lilies, to weave with threads of light the nuptial cloak of the beautiful bride of love.

Finally there is the outpouring of the *Living Flame of Love*, where everything — ideas, images and words — seems to be incandescent. The pen does no more than stir the sparks into flame. All creatures appear to be bathed in the light of lamps of fire which illumine even the deepest caverns of sense. The heart of the saint, now burning with the eternal flame [of love], leaves a trail of light and burning heat which will never be effaced. . . .

Thus was St John of the Cross — small and graceful in body, a giant in intellect, kindly and loving towards all. He was reformer, master, saint, doctor, poet. His unshod feet, which trod nothing but thorns, made the path behind him burst into flower. His lips, which tasted so much gall, breathed forth only poetry. In the end, after having suffered and sung so much, he was able to repeat as he died in Ubeda, not far from the Guadalquivir, the final strophe of his *Dark Night:*

I stayed still and forgot
I leaned my face upon the Beloved,
I ceased from all and I left myself,
Leaving my care
Forgotten among the lilies.

NOTE OF THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS USED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS WORK

(As the biographical sources are sufficiently known in English-speaking countries, no mention is made of them here)

MS 12738 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid). Infolio of 1497 pp.

This contains:

1. Accounts from people who knew St John of the Cross personally, sent to his first biographer, José de Jesús María (pp. 1–96).
2. The Baeza Investigations (pp. 125–66), as also those of Caravaca (pp. 167–371) and Beas (pp. 371–530).
3. Accounts from religious and secular persons who came into contact with the saint (pp. 531–740).
4. Copies of letters of St John of the Cross and of official documents signed by him when he was Vicar-Provincial of Andalusia (pp. 741–74).
5. A continuation of the accounts from persons who lived with him (pp. 1201–497).

(Between nos. 4 and 5, 100 blank pages occur.)

Ubeda Manuscript (Archives of the Discalced Carmelite Friars), two folio vols.

Vol. I contains the original reports drawn up at Ubeda for the saint's beatification, beginning from 15 November 1617. (Fos. 87–482 — preceded by later information about payments and receipts of the Ubeda monastery.)

Vol. II contains the original reports of the Apostolic Process for the saint's canonization. It consists of 437 fos. and begins in the year 1627.

This source was unknown to Baruzi.

MS 8568 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid). One 8vo vol. folio'd from 61–578.

Nothing is known of the whereabouts of the first 60 folios. The title on folio 61 reads: *Historical Fragments for the Life of our holy father, Fray John of the Cross.* The MS contains:

1. Almost literal extracts from the Medina, Segovia, Jaén and Ubeda investigations (fos. 61–226). 20 blank fos. follow.

2. Original accounts from eye-witnesses, some, like that of the saint's brother, Francisco de Yepes (fos. 255 ff.), of outstanding importance.

MS 19407 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

One folio vol. consisting of 196 leaves.

Fos. 1–132 contain the original inquiries for the beatification, from Segovia. Fos. 132–78 give similar information from Ávila, after which the Segovia information continues to the end.

MS 19404 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

One folio vol. of 438 leaves. No title.

Contains the original Segovia inquiry for the saint's canonization, beginning 7 August 1627. Ten years later than MS 19407, it is less rich in detail, for some of the witnesses had died in the meantime.

Vatican Manuscripts.

A collection of nine MSS in folio existing in the archives of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, in Rome.

I. MS Sig. 47. This consists of 123 folios and contains:

1. The Jaén process, with 33 declarations, among which those of Juan Evangelista (fo. 4), Jerónimo de la Cruz (fo. 7) and Isabel de la Encarnación (fo. 21) are outstanding in importance. It terminates at fo. 29 *v*.
2. The Ubeda process, with 108 declarations (fos. 29 *v*–91).
3. The Baeza process, 26 declarations (fos. 97–118).
4. The Alcaudete Investigation, very short, with only two declarations (fos. 118–21 *v*).

II. MS without any special signature, infolio of 44 paginated leaves. It contains the Medina del Campo Inquiry Process, of 35 declarations, including that of P. José de Velasco (fo. 9).

III. MS Sig. 48. Infolio of 75 leaves. Contains the Málaga process, preceded by miscellaneous matter (fos. 1–26), together with a résumé or extract of the ordinary investigation made at Málaga in 1617, including the report of don Luis Fernández de Córdoba, then Bishop of Málaga (fos. 27–33). There are 15 declarations in the Apostolic Process, including that of P. Juan Evangelista (fo. 34) who had already given evidence at Jaén, and that of Ana de la Encarnación (fo. 67).

IV. MS Sig. 46. Infolio of 543 paginated leaves. Contains the text of the Ubeda Apostolic Process, preceded by an extract from the ordinary investigation (fos. 79–140).

V. MS Sig. 49. Infolio of 120 paginated folios. Contains the Segovia Apostolic Process.

VI. MS Sig. 42. Infolio of 178 paginated leaves. Contains the Jaén process in Italian.

VII. MS Sig. 51. Infolio of 144 paginated leaves. Contains the Baeza process, consisting of 29 declarations.

VIII. MS Sig 25. Infolio of 89 paginated leaves. Contains the Medina Apostolic Process, consisting of 20 declarations, among them those of Gabriel de San José (fo. 52), Catalina Bautista (fo. 66), Catalina de Jesús (fo. 69) and Jerónimo de Olmos, Prior of the monastery of Santa Ana (fo. 81 *v*).

IX. MS infolio, without special signature, of 24 sheets, containing the Process of Granada.

This source was likewise unknown to Baruzi.

Vida y Virtudes del Venerable Varón Francisco de Yepes . . . por el p. Fray José de Velasco . . . 1617 (One 8vo vol. of 424 pp.). This fills a gap in relation to the childhood of St John of the Cross. Its documentary value is considerable, for it was written on the basis of oral accounts and papers left by Francisco de Yepes.

MS 13460 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

A folio volume of 232 written leaves, with 10 others, blank, at the end.

It is an account of the life, virtues and miracles of St John of the Cross, written by Fray Alonso de la Madre de Dios, the Procurator of the saint's cause for beatification. It does not contain data for the canonization.

Segovia Manuscripts. A collection in the archives of the Discalced Carmelite friars of that city. There are four MSS as follows:

MS No. 1 Purchase of the Property of Las Peñas

This title only gives one part of the contents. It is an infolio of 29 leaves, of which only 15–22 are numbered. It contains:

1. The original documents for the purchase (14 numbered folios) from the Trinitarian Fathers.
2. The deed of purchase of Las Peñas from the Segovian authorities (7 numbered folios).
3. Deed of taking possession of the property by St John of the Cross.

MS No. 2 Book of the Prelates

An infolio of 221 numbered leaves. Contains information relating to the period when St John of the Cross was prior of Segovia.

MS No. 3 Expenses Book

Unpaginated infolio of slight value as a document, preceded by a note by P. Manuel de Santa María. The accounts begin 6 Jan., 1589 and were signed by Fray John of the Cross, but his signature has been cut out.

MS. No. 4 Accounts Book

Infolio, with a good deal of information about the time the saint was living in Segovia.

Mention should be made of another MS. in the same archives — the *Libro de las Cosas referentes a Nuestro Santo Padre*. This consists of 80 folios (with other documents inserted) and contains information about the saint's relics, his genealogy, the *Dictámenes de espíritu*, etc. etc. (*Editor's note*).

MS 12944 (132) (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

Folder of 18 numbered sheets. No title. It is an autograph account of the saint by Madre Magdalena del Espíritu Santo. It was published by P. Silverio in the appendices to the *Obras de San Juan de la Cruz* (vol. 1, p. 323 ff.).

MS 7003 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

One 8vo vol. of 335 leaves. No title. Contains miscellaneous reports which are, however, original and of the first importance, particularly that from P. Juan de Santa Ana, St John's subject and companion for many years. There are also autograph accounts by PP. Juan Evangelista and Francisco de San Hilarión.

MS 2711 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

One folio vol. of 502 leaves. No titles. Together with many documents bearing no reference to the saint are certain original reports of interest for his life, such as that of María de Espinel (fos. 208–12) and that of P. Alonso de San Alberto about the Almodóvar Chapter (fo. 251); also certain autobiographical letters of José de Jesús María, Alonso de la Madre de Dios and Jerónimo de San José.

MS 13482 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

One volume of 237 leaves. The title (in different lettering) reads: *Memorias historiales en orden a las obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús y San Juan de la Cruz, sacadas de monumentos de nuestro Archivo General por Fray Andrés de la Encarnación* (fo. 3). The part concerning the saint runs from fo. 4 to 162 and deals chiefly with his writings. Other volumes of the *Memorias* deal with textual criticism.

MS 6632 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

One 8vo volume of 499 leaves, entitled *Vida de San Juan de la Cruz*. This MS is not of primary importance.

MS 8713 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

One folio volume of 205 leaves. No title. This contains many documents relating to the Carmelite reform, but few about St John of the Cross.

The following may be instanced as sources likewise original, but more limited in scope:

Archives of the parish church of Santiago in Medina del Campo: *Baptismal Register* 1530–1630: *Ibid.*, church of San Martín, Medina del Campo, 1537–79 (123 leaves).

Archives of the Convento de la Magdalena: *Libro de la Fundación del Monasterio.*

Archives of the University of Salamanca: *Matriculation Register*, 1564–8.

Archivo Histórico Nacional: *Legajos* [*Files*] *del Convento de N. Señora del Carmen* (Calced Carmelite Fathers).

Archives of Simancas: Section, Estado, Roma, file 938: *Ibid.*, Section: Diver. de Castilla, files 10, 40 and 1.

Archives of the Carmelite Fathers of Ávila: *Account Book*, Infolio of 565 leaves.

Archives of the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Medina del Campo: *Original Expenses Book: Ibid., Register of Professions.*

Archives of the Carmelite Fathers of Salamanca: Documents mainly referring to St Teresa.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Only the name of Fray John's father is known for certain, though one biographer, José de Jesús María (*Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1) mentions his grandfather, also called Gonzalo, as still alive at the time of his son's marriage, whereas other historians say he was dead. See MS of Archives of Discalced Carmelites at Segovia (*Libro de las cosas referentes a nuestro santo Padre;* Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, vol I, ch. 2, pp. 11, 12; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 1, fo. 9; Velasco, *Vida y virtudes del venerable varén Francisco de Yepes*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 2.

2. Their names cannot be known with certainty; cf. MS 12738, fo. 613.

3. Fray John of the Cross later followed this route in the reverse direction when he journeyed from Ávila to Toledo.

4. This date is arrived at by comparison with that of the birth of the first child, Francisco de Yepes, which was in 1530 (Velasco, *Vida* bk. I, ch. 1, p. 2).

5. Some documents appear to have confused Francisco and John, referring to the elder child as the saintly Francisco de Yepes. The evidence leaves no doubt that it was Francisco who was born in 1530 and John in 1542. Cf. MS 8568, fos. 573–4.

6. The year of John de Yepes' birth is certain, working backwards from his age at the time of death. The day and month are uncertain, for the parish registers were destroyed by fire in 1544 (not 1546 as Baruzi erroneously stated, for the *new* parish register begins in 1545). Certain documents mistakenly give Medina del Campo as his birthplace. Cf. MS 12738, fos. 105, 125, 485, 489, etc.: MS 8568, fo. 543, etc. and Salamanca University Matriculation Registers 1564, 1565–6, 1567–8.

7. A granite memorial slab in the central nave of the parish church at Fontiveros marks the resting place of Gonzalo de Yepes.

8. *Archives of Simancas*. Divers. de Castilla, leg. 1 fo. 41. In the same proclamation Philip mentions a further cause of the scarcity of bread — the excessively high price at which it was being sold. The king goes on to fix the price at twelve reals per measure of wheat, half a ducat per measure of barley, establishing penalties ranging from six years' exile and confiscation of a fourth part of their property for first offenders, to life exile and total confiscation of wealth and property for a third offence.

9. The collegiate church and Conception convent are still standing. Nothing remains of San Francisco, destroyed first by the French and finally by Mendizabal's law of disentailment, (cf. *Apuntes históricos sobre 'la Loca del Sacramento' y la villa de Torrijos*, Torrijos, 1928.)

10. It appears that Juan de Yepes later had a son, Diego de Yepes, who became a priest and did good work in elucidating the genealogy of St John of the Cross (MS Segovia, Archives of the Carmelite fathers, *Libro de las cosas referentes a nuestro santo Padre*).

11. Baruzi, relying on a statement made by Francisco de Yepes, thought that John began to learn weaving before going to school (*Saint Jean de la Croix*

et le problème de l'expérience mystique, bk. II, ch. 1, p. 74). But Francisco's account was not intended to be chronological.

12. St John of the Cross related this incident at least twice — to Fray Martín de la Asunción, for some years his companion in Andalusia, and to P. Luis de San Ángelo, one of his subjects in Granada. We are, then, dealing with a fact that is historically certain. P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios mentions it as happening in Arévalo, cf. MS 12738, fos. 132–3.

13. Some authorities place Luis' death in Arévalo, others in Medina, but the fact that he is buried with his father in the parish church of Fontiveros would seem to indicate that he died there. His death certainly occurred after his father's and probably shortly before Catalina Álvarez left Fontiveros. Cf. Velasco *op. cit.*, bk. I, ch. 4, p. 15; Silverio, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, bk. V, ch. 1, p. 8, n. 1; Jerónimo de San José, *Obras de San Juan de la Cruz*, vol. I, p. 9; *Historia*, bk. I, ch. 3, p. 16, MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 1, fo. 9, *v°*; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina sig. 25, fo. 9.

14. Padre Alonso gives the year as 1550, but Velasco states categorically that it was 1551. As the dates of other events given by this writer coincide, 1551 has been taken as the year here. (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 1, fo. 9, *v°*; Velasco *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 4, p. 15; Rodríguez y Fernández, *Historia de Medina*, p. 538.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. It was on this site that the monastery of Discalced friars was founded (cf. *Libro de Becerro* [i.e. accounts book] in the Archives of the present Carmelite monastery). The friars lived there until the expulsion, but practically nothing remains of the monastery now. Catalina Álvarez was still living in the house in 1567 when Madre Teresa came to found her convent of Carmelite nuns in Medina in that very street, but farther up and on the opposite side. They were thus near neighbours. The Calle de Santiago is now known as the Calle del Marqués de la Enseñada (cf. MS Vat. proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 13, fo. 17; Rodríguez y Fernández, *Historia de Medina*, p. 478).

2. Although Padre Velasco says that 'he did not apply himself to them in any marked degree', it is clear that he is giving to this expression the meaning that John's effort was unsuccessful (*Vida de Francisco de Yepes*, bk. II, ch. 1, p. 90).

3. The witnesses are too numerous, too reliable and too certain of the fact to call in question John's fall and his being taken out of the water unharmed. As regards our Lady's miraculous intervention, some difference of opinion exists. P. Juan Evangelista, who had the story from John himself said that the saint attributed his escaping unharmed to having supported himself on a board (MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47 fo. 4 verso. Cf. MS 12738, fo. 981). Fray John also related the story to Padre Diego de la Concepción, without attributing it to our Lady's miraculous intervention. Other persons knowing John of the Cross well declared that the saint had attributed his escape to our Lady. (MS 8568, fo. 543, fo. 678; MS 12738, fo. 184, fo. 417; MS Vaticano, sig. 25, fo. 70 and fo. 59, MS Ubeda II, fo. 264; MS Vaticano, sig. 25 fo. 53 and proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 128.)

4. MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 34; MS 8568, fo. 72.

Fray John's biographers are incorrect in assigning this event to the time he was serving in the hospital. A well, known as miraculous, still exists on what is thought to be the site of the hospital though it cannot be identified with absolute certainty.

5. MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*, MS 8568, ff. 70 and 371 *v*, MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina sig. 25 ff. 59 and 70. John is said to have worked at the hospital voluntarily, probably in the sense of having been free to accept or refuse the administrator's offer.

6. In trying to identify the hospital in which John served in Medina, historians have been unfortunate. Several have suggested that of San Antón and Padre Silverio leaves the problem unsolved. It is certain that it was in the Hospital de las Bubas, that that was a hospital for the poor, known as N. Señora de la Concepción, and that the administrator was don Alonso Álvarez de Toledo. (Cf. MS 8568, fo. 371, *v*; MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*; MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59, etc.)

7. *Libro de bautizos* (parish of San Martín) fo. 54. In one instance in 1564 the name of John de Yepes appears as godfather (fo. 78). In that year Catalina's youngest son was still in Medina but had already taken the Carmelite habit.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Juan López Osorio, an inhabitant of Medina at the time, relates that after Rodrigo de Dueñas had given Charles V a magnificent reception, at the Emperor's departure he made him a present of 50,000 ducats which Charles owed him and for which he held a bond with the royal signature. Rodrigo presented the bond between two silver dishes, saying. 'Let your Majesty tear up this bond, for I want to serve you in this way.' The Emperor deeply moved, threw his arms around his neck and greatly appreciated this service. (*Principio, grandezas y caida de la noble villa de Medina del Campo*, p. 308.)

2. Velasco, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 1, fo. 91. Cf. Rodríguez y Fernández, *Historia de Medina*, p. 442. Of this small primitive convent nothing remains to-day. In 1579 P. Juan de Salazar built a new church and monastery of brick, spacious and solidly constructed, like the castle and the collegiate church of Medina. Of this second foundation only ruins are left. Only the square central patio, later roofed in and transformed into a saw-mill, can serve as a point of departure for an approximate imaginary reconstruction of the monastery, though the ground-plan and orientation of the church can also be made out. Like so many other religious buildings in the nineteenth century, the monastery was destroyed under Mendizabal's disentailment programme.

3. Cf. MS 12738, fo. 911, where María de Jesús would seem to suggest that he was thinking of the Carthusians because he had not received light from God as to how to proceed with the reform — this, before he had finished his studies!

4. Although one authority assigns the clothing to 1560 (MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 8; MS 8568, fo. 61), it is clear from the date of profession which was made during Padre Rubeo's generalship, that it could not have been prior to 1563. The date given by some historians (Dosithée de Saint-Alexis, *Vie de Saint Jean de la Croix*, vol. I, p. 29, Paris, 1727; Bruno de Jésús-Marie, *Saint Jean de la Croix*, ch. 3, p. 15) seems unlikely. Manuscript

evidence shows that he took the habit when his course with the Jesuits was finished.

5. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 3, fo. 11; MS 19404, fo. 181; MS 12738, fo. 1. 379. It seems the profession formula bore no date. The fact that Padre Ángel de Salazar, still in Rome in May, was present at the ceremony and that this took place when Padre Rubeo was General, authorizes us to put the profession as early as June or July 1564, at least. It might equally have been deferred not only until October as Padre Silverio thinks, basing himself on the supposed university matriculation date, but until December, for Fray John did not matriculate until 6 January 1565, as will be seen.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. The College of San Andrés and that of San Esteban adjoined each other. In what was known as the great flood of St Polycarp (26 January 1626) the monastery, part of the church, and eight adjoining houses were carried away. During that night the Dominicans of San Esteban threw both food and firewood over the garden wall to the Carmelites (Villar y Macías, *Historia de Salamanca*, vol. III, pp. 59–62). The building that Fray Juan de Santo Matía lived in for four years disappeared on this occasion.

2. We give from the matriculation register the names of Fray John's fellow students from the College of San Andrés during the four years he was at the university —

'*Year 1564–1565* — Fray Juan de Heredia, of Zaragoza, priest and theol. Fray Antonio de la Luz, of Lisbon, priest and theol. Fray Juan de Cepeda, of Requena (Cuenca diocese) priest and theol. Fray Bartolomé Sánchez, of Toledo, priest and theol. Fray Hernando de Medina, of Alba (Salamanca diocese), priest and theol. Fray Jerónimo Brito, of Lisbon, priest and theol.

Arts students — Fray Sebastián de Oliva, of Ávila. Fray Rodrigo Nieto, of Medina del Campo (Salamanca diocese). Fray Juan de Santo Matía, of Medina del Campo (Salamanca diocese). Fray Pedro de Orozco, of Medina del Campo.

'*Year 1565–1566* — Fray Bartolomé Sánchez, of Toledo; Fray Juan de Cepeda of Requena (Cuenca); Fray Juan de Heredia, of Zaragoza; Fray Jerónimo Brito, of Lisbon; Fray Antonio de la Luz, of Lisbon'— all described as 'priests and theologians'.

Arts students — Fray Sebastián de la Oliva, of Ávila; Fray Luis Ruiz, of Toledo; Fray Juan Salanova, of Zaragoza (priest); Fray Juan de Santo Matía of Medina del Campo; Fray Cristobal de Toledo, of Toledo; Fray Pedro de Orozco, of Medina; Fray Rodrigo Nieto, of Medina.

'*Year 1566–1567* — Fray Bartolomé Sánchez, Fray Juan de Cepeda; Fray Sebastián de Oliva, priest (arts course); Fray Juan de Heredia, priest (arts); Fray Juan Salanova, priest (arts); Fray Juan de Santo Matía, of (F) Ontiveros, diocese of Ávila (arts); Fray Pedro de Orozco (arts); Fray Rodrigo Nieto (arts).

'*Year 1567–1568* — Fray Gerardo de Medina, of Alba de Tormes (Salamanca diocese); Fray Sebastián de Oliva, of Ávila; Fray Juan de Santo Matía, of Medina del Campo; Fray Juan de Salanova, of Zaragoza; Fray Sebastián

de los Ángeles, of Lisbon; Fray Rodrigo Nieto of Medina; Fray Pedro Orozco, of Medina — all described as priests and theologians except Fray Rodrigo Nieto, listed as theologian only.

Arts students — Fray Luis Ruiz, of Toledo; Fray Cristóbal de Toledo; Fray Alonso de Villalba, of Toledo; Fray Juan de Mercado, of Medina del Campo.'

3. Fray Mancio held this Chair for the first time in 1564 and remained in possession of it until 1576. The manuscript of a lecture he gave in the 1567–8 course, which Fray Juan de Santo Matía probably attended, is still preserved (P. Beltrán de Heredia 'Hacia un inventario de manuscritos teológicos de la escuela salmantina' in *Revista Española de Teológía*, vol. III, cuad. 1, p. 78).

4. Guevara had held the Chair of St Thomas in 1556. He won the Vespers Chair in competition with the famous Dominican Juan Gallo, a theologian of the Council of Trent. On Juan de Guevara, see Gregorio de Santiago Vela's study, *Ensayo de una biblioteca iberoamericana de la Orden de San Augustín*, vol. III, p. 415 ff. In the Angelicum in Rome, there is preserved the beginning of an explanation by Guevara of the *Prima Secundae* of St Thomas, which Fray Juan de Santo Matía might well have heard (Beltrán de Heredia, *Revista Española de Teológía*, vol. III, p. 83)

5. Gregorio Gallo was replaced in 1567 by Gaspar de Grajal, disciple of Fray Luis de León.

6. This work, with a prodigiously long Latin title, consisted of 144 folios. The Statutes prescribed: 'In the Chair of Astrology during the first year, the globe and the theory of the planets are to be studied in the eight months, and some tables in the Astrolabio substitution.'

7. Matriculation Registers 1564–5. Francisco de Salinas, the musician made famous by Luis de León, does not appear on the list until the year 1568–9, when he is listed as holding the Chair of Chant (fo. 4). Fray Juan de Santo Matía was not, then, a contemporary of his at the university.

8. This problem should not be confused with that of conversations among the students. Even there Spanish was forbidden, but the students, backed by such eminent professors as El Brocense, gradually introduced Spanish in their conversations, songs, etc. (cf. P.V. González de la Calle, *Varia: Notas y apuntes sobre temas de letras clásicas*, p. 217 ff. *Ibid.; Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas. Su vida profesional y académica. Ensayo biográfico*, p. 101 ff.)

9. *Statutes*, tit. XIX, pp. 262–3. It is known that the theology classes were given in the Escuelas mayores. There is not the same certainty about the place assigned to the arts classes. They were probably given in the Escuelas menores, a building finished in 1533, facing the western façade of the university. It is of modest proportions and in Renascence style, with two arches and three busts. An entrance to the main cloister with its slender columns is through an archway, over which was set the crest of the university with the inscription: *Omnium scientiarum princeps Salmantica docet.*

10. Fray John even took part, once in 1565 and twice in 1568, in the voting for the election of candidates to Chairs. On the last two occasions he voted as a priest.

11. It was perhaps on account of this dual character of the college that in 1564 the Rector, Fray Hernando Maldonado, applied to the university for economic assistance (*Libros manuscritos del Claustro*, 1565, fo. 45, verso and 46).

12. The dual nature of Fray Juan de Santo Matía's studies is confirmed by the fact that his early biographers (José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 4; Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. I, ch. 6, p. 38) affirmed that he studied in the College of San Andrés and by the traces of the teaching of Baconthorp found in his doctrine (cf. Crisógono, *San Juan de la Cruz, su obra científica y su obra literaria*, vol. I, p. 26 ff.). The earlier controversy on this point has now been cleared up by the evidence of Pedro Chacón, who was writing in 1569, as to the usual practice in Salamanca. (*Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, p. 37). As to his courses of study, P. José de Jesús María wrote. 'He studied in St Thomas the lessons he *heard in schools*' (bk. I, ch. 6). 'To hear in schools' was the accepted expression of the time for following a course of study in the university.

As to Fray Juan's matriculation, see MS 12738, fo. 1 493, MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 4, fo. 11 verso MS Vaticano sig 25, fo. 59.

13. John Baconthorp (grandnephew of Roger Bacon) was born at Baconthorp, Yorks., *c.* 1290, was professed as a Carmelite in 1306, studied in Paris, obtaining his master's degree in 1323. He taught at the University of Cambridge and probably at Oxford and died between 1345 and 1348. Michael of Bologna was General of the Order from 1381 to 1387 (cf. Crisógono. 'Maître Jean Baconthorp. Les sources. La doctrine. Les disciples', p. 363 ff. Off-print from *Revue néoscolastique de Philosophie*, Louvain, 1932).

14. I.e., matter determined by quantity — *Tr.*

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. A devout woman living under rule, but in her own home — *Tr.*

2. P. Antonio was born in Requena, province of Valencia, *c.* 1510. Before being prior of Medina, he had held that office in Toledo and Ávila.

3. *Foundations*, ch. 3. The account of this interview given by María Velázquez (MS Vaticano proc. apost. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 60), in which St Teresa is reported to have offered Fray Antonio the Discalced habit which he refused on the grounds of poor health, would appear to be inaccurate since it is contradicted by St Teresa herself. The same must be said of the supposed revelation to St Teresa of the adoption of the Reform by St John of the Cross — see MS Vaticano proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 28 *v.*

4. Archives of the University of Salamanca, Matriculation Registers 1564–1568. He appears to have followed the same courses as Fray Juan de Santo Matía. In his final years 1567–8 he, like Fray John, is entered as priest and student of theology. (Cf. above, ch. 4, note 2.)

5. We do not know the exact date of Fray John's ordination to the priesthood. The documents in the archives of the diocese of Salamanca, now in the Colegio de Calatrava, do not go back farther than 1670. Similarly we do not know the date of his first Mass nor who were present at it. That his mother, brother and sister-in-law were there as certain modern biographers have said, is probable but there is no evidence for it. All we know from the documents is that he said his first Mass at Medina del Campo. (MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59.)

Years later a hidden grace which Fray Juan de Santo Matia received at his

first Mass, that of confirmation in grace, became known. (MS 19407, fo. 150, MS Vaticano, proc. inform de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 12; MS 8568, fo. 62; MS 12738, fo. 166.

A chapel erected in 1909 by P. Miguel de la Sagrada Familia still exists in Medina near the church of the ruined monastery of Santa Ana where the saint is said to have sung his first Mass.

6. It seems unlikely, as certain historians of the Saint have thought, that his studies were finished when he came to sing Mass in Medina, and that only by agreement with St Teresa did he return to study for another year. It seems more probable that the intention of Fray John and his superiors, who after all had to decide, was that he should return to the College of San Andrés, like his fellow-student, Pedro de Orozco. Otherwise he would have stayed in Medina, to which house be belonged, until the Madre had found a house to begin the reform of the friars. Cf. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 3, fo. 12 *v* and *Ibid.*, ch. 8, fo. 15, 17, for Padre Alonso's (mistaken) opinions.

7. To-day neither the Campo gate nor the Carmelite monastery exists. The church remained standing until well on into this century. The Military Hospital now occupies the site.

8. Some authorities, including P. Silverio, think that even in Medina Fray John wore the Discalced habit. New documents that have come to light show that he did not then wear it *regularly*, though he certainly tried it on in Medina. Cf. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 8, fo. 18 and fos. 29 *v*–30; MS 12738, fos. 1371–2.

9. The exact date is unknown, but it must have been at the end of September or beginning of October 1568.

10. There was a time, although we do not know the date, when the whole family of St John of the Cross was in Duruelo. His mother prepared the friars' meals, Ana Izquierdo did the washing and Francisco tidied and cleaned the cells (MS 8568, fo. 371). The rendering of these services shows that it was not at the time when Fray John was alone. On the other hand Francisco's stay in the months prior to the inauguration seems to be indicated from the statement 'no friar accompanied' Fray John.

11. MS 2711, fo. 148. For details of the deed of foundation see MS 8020, MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 9, fo. 20. Whether or not the three Discalced friars then or later drew up and signed a fresh act of profession, is not easy to determine. See MS 12738, fo. 769, 8713, fo. 96 *v*; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, fo. 118, 119, 2711, fo 153 *v*; 12738, fo. 1489 and 1485; 13460, bk. I, ch. 18, fo. 44; 8713, fo. 2, *v*.

12. *Foundations*, ch. 14. Fray Lucas de Celis shortly left Duruelo through ill-health. Nothing more was heard of the man who came with Fray John of the Cross to take the habit as a lay-brother.

13. *Foundations*, ch. 14. Other manuscript evidence confirms what St Teresa says. See account of Fray Agustín de San José who lived with the two fathers in Andalusia (MS 8568, fo. 290).

14. St Teresa, *Foundations*, ch. 14 — other manuscript documents confirm St Teresa's account — cf. MS 8568, fo. 290.

15. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 19, fo. 46. A son of don Luis, heir to his father's title and property, entered with the Discalced and died in Segovia, renowned for his virtue, 5 December 1598 (MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 13, fo. 136). His name in religion was Luis de Jesús. He took the habit at the college of Salamanca

and was professed at Toro 18 February 1596. He went on to Segovia to study Arts. (*Libro de la fundación del convento de Toro*, fo. 6; *Libro de difuntos del convento de Segovia.*, fo. 1 *v.*)

16. Considerable remains of the palace are still standing, whereas the monastery and church of the Discalced friars have completely disappeared. Their vegetable garden, with its surrounding wall of stone, earth and brick is still there. At the present time a new convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns, built upon the site of the friars' monastery, has come to bring a renewal of Teresian life to Mancera de Abajo. For the reasons for the abandonment of the monastery there, see *Libro de Becerro de Ávila*, Fos. 517 *v*–518.

17. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 19, fo. 46 *v.* We owe all these details to P. Alonso de Villalba They are to be found in the Mancera book of foundations. There P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios read them, finding the book in the monastery of Valladolid. To-day we have a summary in the *Libro de Becerro* (fos. 517 *v*, 518, 617) preserved in the archives of the Carmelite friars of Ávila, which links up with the Duruelo and Mancera book, for the Mancera foundation was transferred, as we shall see, to Ávila.

18. Duruelo remained abandoned for about a century. The Order succeeded in getting the place back in 1612, but only in 1637, when a small monastery and church were built, was it again inhabited by the sons of Fray John of the Cross. When the religious were expelled from Spain in 1836, the monastery was abandoned. At the present day all that remains are ruined walls, the outer walls of some ancient cloister and incomplete staircases. In 1947 the Carmelite nuns of Mancera set up a new monastery there, near to the primitive site.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 19, fo. 46 *v.* MS 8713, fo. 97. Later the signature of Fray John of the Cross was cut out with a knife, certainly as a relic. For the profession of Fray Pedro de los Ángeles, P. Fray Antonio de San Pablo acted as witness, although he did not sign, as he was absent when the entry was made.

2. Later, after they had been living in caves cut out of the calcareous rock upon which the hermitage was built, a fine monastery was erected. The inauguration of the primitive house was carried out with great solemnity. All went in procession from the palace of the Prince and Princess to the hermitage. The Duke and Duchess were present, Madre Teresa, P. Antonio de Jesús, Fray Baltasar de Jesús, a Calced friar, who had come to accompany the nuns, gave the habit to the two hermits before P. Antonio arrived. He afterwards remained with the Reform. (Cf. Silverio, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. III, ch. 12, p. 318 ff.)

3. The first lay-brother was actually the man Fray John brought with him from Ávila when he was at Duruelo, but he does not seem to have persevered.

4. Fray Pedro de los Ángeles himself related these details to P. José de Jesús María (*Vida*, bk. I, ch. 17).

5. I.e. rich, fertile plain — *Tr.*

6. The old men of Pastrana related that Juan Jiménez de Pedro had foretold the transformation of this dovecot into a monastery (Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. II, ch. 29).

7. Before Fray John left Pastrana, Fray Gabriel Bautista, son of a physician to the Emperor Charles V, also joined the novitiate (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 20, fo. 48).

8. Apart from Madre Teresa, with whom he discussed the matter before leaving Pastrana, Prince Ruy Gómez — who asked and obtained leave of the General, and who, moreover, was helping financially — P. Fray Baltasar de Jesús and P. Francisco de la Concepción (Espinel) were also present at the foundation. The latter had recently been Rector of the Calced friars' College at Alcalá.

9. One document asserts that Fray John was elected prior of Mancera when he was confessor at the Incarnation (Ávila), but could not take possession of his office because he was kept prisoner by the Calced friars (MS 12738, fo. 1477). A chalice with base and stem of bronze and bowl of silver, which Fray John of the Cross had used for Mass, was kept in Mancera as a relic for many years (MS 8713, fos. 2 *v*–3). For a list of the priors of Mancera until the monastery was transferred to Ávila, see *Libro de Becerro de Ávila*, fo. 518.

10. Later, in 1598, the College of the Discalced friars was transferred to another building outside the Puerta Nueva, to the south-west of the city. There St Teresa's sons wrote their *Cursus Complutensis* (cf. Silverio, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, bk. III, ch. 3, p. 355).

11. The primitive building, which was an old mansion, had already been structurally transformed by Rodrigo Gil de Ontañon and reached its final form in the year 1543 (Urriza, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

12. Contrary to what P. Silverio supposed (*Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, bk. III, ch. 18, p. 474, n. 2), Fray John of the Cross was only at Pastrana twice — the first time when he went there from Mancera, the second on the occasion when he went to moderate the excessive fervour of P. Ángel de San Gabriel. The second novice-master at Pastrana, P. Pedro de los Apóstoles, was not succeeded by Fray John but by P. Ángel de San Gabriel. There is no doubt that it was originally thought that Fray John would give up his rectorship at Alcalá and go to Pastrana permanently, P. Ángel remaining as superior in Alcalá. But the latter's fears about taking charge of the college changed things. P. Ángel went to Pastrana as novice-master and Fray John remained as Rector of Alcalá. We have P. Ángel's evidence for this (MS 4213, ch. 49, fo. 56 — see also MS 12738, fo. 1. 487 for the opinion of P. Alonso).

13. When Fray Ambrosio Mariano came along on one occasion loaded with wood, and a gentleman asked him why he was carrying the wood on his shoulders, he replied, 'Because in that way it warms us twice' (Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. II, ch. 34).

14. We possess interesting details of the life that was led in Pastrana, related by one of the novices of Fray John of the Cross, Eliseo de San Ildefonso: 'From the beginning two tunics, inner and outer, were used. Alpagartas [i.e. rope-soled shoes] were used by those ill and infirm and he who was moved to go bare-footed or had the strength to do so, did not wear them. Among the ordinary mortifications it was customary to give leave to throw ashes on one's food or water on the bowl of vegetables to take away the taste from them. On each table, not only on the high table but also on the others, there was a bowl of ashes as a reminder of what we were to become and they called it *Memoria;* and on the prior's table there was not only a bowl of ashes, but also a skull.

The habits were coarse, not only in material but also in their make, and those who had well-cut ones usually undid them, so that they should be less well dressed and the gowns more like habits. . . . Thus they said that they had not to be dressed, but only covered.' (MS 8568, fo. 301).

15. Years later, almost at the end of the life of St John of the Cross, the customs of Pastrana were codified in a book entitled: *Instrucción de Novicios de los Carmelitas Descalzos*, published in 1591 and approved by the saint as member of the *Consulta*. The whole of the *Instrucción* cannot be taken as a direct reflection of what was established by Fray John in Pastrana, for it was drawn up taking into account the memoranda sent in from the different novitiates. But it is logical to suppose that a good part corresponds to what was established by the holy Reformer in Pastrana. The book was re-edited in Toledo in 1925 by P. Evaristo de la Virgen del Carmen (*Instrucción de Novicios Descalzos de la Virgen María del Monte Carmelo conforme a las costumbres de la misma Orden*).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. The original site of the convent was inside the city walls, on the eastern side, near the Puerta de San Vicente. It was first founded on 2 January 1478, by doña Elvira González de Medina, as a *béguinage*, and was only converted into a Carmelite convent in the year 1510. The transfer of the community to the actual building constructed for the purpose took place on 4 April 1515, the day on which Teresa de Ahumada, born seven days earlier, was baptized in the parish church of San Juan.

2. Fray Ángel de Salazar, who was Provincial from 1561–7, the date on which he was elected prior of Ávila, was again Provincial in 1570, following P. Fray Alonso González. He was Provincial twice more, on separate occasions.

3. We owe these details to eye-witness accounts of the processes of beatification and canonization of St Teresa, published by P. Silverio, *Biblioteca Mística Carmelitana*, vols. 19–20.

4. This was not the only monastery where this step was taken. Toledo had a Discalced prior at this time — P. Antonio de Jesús — also by imposition of Padre Fernández.

5. The chair and the place of the confessional are still preserved, although the latter has had to undergo some transformation through the work carried out to erect the chapel of St Teresa's Transverberation.

6. Padre Alonso names Fray Francisco de los Apóstoles (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 24, fo. 56) but he was a lay-brother and porter at the Carmelite monastery. The confusion may come from Fray Francisco's statement that he lived with Fray John a year and eight months in the monastery (MS 3537, fo. 281).

7. P. Germán was still in Pastrana on 25 April 1573, for he signed the deed of profession of P. Gracián on that day.

8. We can calculate that it was before the year and eight months of Fray John's being there, since Fray Francisco de los Apóstoles, who was living with the saint at that time, tells us that he once found him in 'a little garden he had adjoining his cell' at the Incarnation (MS 12738, fo. 789).

9. MS 119404 fos. 213 *v* — 214. The report made in Salamanca to which P. Alonso refers here is certainly that made about M. Ana María de Jesús, who

had been transferred from Ávila to Salamanca to the convent of Augustinian Recollects: see MS 12738, fo. 490.

10. MS 12738, fo. 491. According to P. Alonso, the sketch was already in Ávila in the first third of the 18th century (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 29, fo. 68). It is at present preserved in a simple reliquary of gilt wood, in which doña María Pinel, prioress of the Incarnation, to whom Madre Ana María de Jesús gave it, placed it. The exact dimensions, taken directly, are: length of the cross, 5 cm. 7 mm.: arms, 4 cm. 7 mm. with a thickness in both of 3 mm. The figure of Christ is portrayed sideways and lower than the observer. Hence the special perspective, which makes it measure from the feet to the extremity of the left arm, in a straight line, 2 cm., while on the left there are 6 cm. From our Lord's right hand four drops of blood, perfectly distinguishable, have fallen. The hair is falling over one shoulder which is bare and torn; the waist is very narrow, as would be the case in a side view, and the legs are bent by the weight of the body which they cannot support. . . .

11. We have pointed out elsewhere the possible influences of Fray John's direction in the books which St Teresa wrote from this time onwards. (*San Juan de la Cruz, su obra científica*, vol. I, ch. 21, p. 457 ff.)

12. The saint spent the feast of the Holy Trinity 1574 in Segovia and that same year, in October, the Madre's office as prioress at the Incarnation came to an end.

13. MS 12738, fo. 985, P. Alonso (MS 19404, fo. 180) connects this incident with Fray John's being fixed to his chair and raised with it to the ceiling. Although P. Silverio thinks there were two distinct incidents (*op. cit.*, bk. V, ch. 4, p. 75), we maintain there was only one. Beatriz de Cepeda, the eye-witness, speaks of Fray John being raised to the ceiling, but refers to only one occurrence.

14. This date is arrived at from the fact that Fray Francisco de los Apóstoles, who was with the saint the first twenty months he was at the Incarnation, was one of the witnesses (MS 3537, fo. 281).

15. The present building, better and larger than the original sixteenth-century one, is on the same site, but is considerably altered. (Cf. Enrique Ballesteros, *Estudio histórico de Ávila y su territoria*, Ávila, 1896, bk. III, ch. 11, pp. 281–2.)

16. Although there are other documents which relate the same fact, e.g. P. Alonso (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 23, fo. 55 *v*), the source is, certainly, the account of Francisca de Jesús we have just quoted.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. See MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 29, fo. 60 *v* for P. Alonso's mistaken opinion that only the Mancera and Pastrana monasteries could remain. Alcalá, Altomira, La Roda and Almodóvar were also founded with the General's leave. (*Acta Capit. General.* vol. I, p. 510.)

2. *Acta Capit. General*, vol. I, p. 580, MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 29 fo. 70. Although the restriction on the movements of Madre Teresa and the nuns does not figure in the *Acta Capit. General*, it is clear that the resolution was taken then — see Santa Teresa, *Letters*, vol. I, letter 91 and vol. II, letter of October 1578; also *Foundations*, ch. 27.

3. The Almodóvar house had been founded about eighteen months (7 March 1575) by P. Antonio de Jesús, with leave of the General.

4. The Spanish text lists only seven names here — *Tr.*

5. Jerónimo de San José (*Historia*, bk. III, ch. 2, p. 233) and José de Jesús María (*Vida*, bk. 11, ch. 2, p. 239) also mention among those present Padres Nicolás de Jesús María (Doria), Francisco de la Concepción and Fray Brocardo el Viejo. The *Reforma* does not mention them.

6. MS 13460, bk. 1, ch. 29, fo. 68 ff.; *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 41, p. 350. It is strange that P. Gracián in drawing up these Constitutions did not include those which the General Bautista Rubeo gave the Discalced. A superficial comparison shows the absolute independence of the two documents. Cf. Silverio, in appendices to *Obras de Santa Teresa*, vol. VI, p. 399 ff.

7. *Constituciones*, ch. 5, p. 406 (*Obras de Santa Teresa*, vol. VI). The Constitution drawn up in Duruelo was even more explicit, according to a text quoted by José de Jesús María. See *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 2.

8. The Constitutions provided for the careful observance of the rubrics of the missal and breviary. The chant was to be at the correct pitch. Pauses had to be kept, though the rhythm must remain unbroken (ch. 7, p. 406). It should be remembered that the Jerusalem rite followed by the Carmelite Order obliged them to sing almost all the divine office. Later the Discalced Carmelites adopted the Roman rite.

9. This decision was not put into effect immediately. It was again taken, and more effectively, in the Chapter which was held in 1577, also in Almodóvar, as we shall see.

10. By February news of the calamity had come to the knowledge of Madre Teresa in Seville (*Letters* vol. I, letter 91).

11. Alonso thought that Fray John's companion, taken prisoner with him on this occasion, was Fray Francisco de los Apóstoles (MS 13460). This was also the opinion of MS 13482, *Memorias Historiales*, fo. 161, letter J, n. 73. In 1641, when Jerónimo de San José published his *Historia*, the cell of the monastery of Santa Ana in which Fray John was imprisoned on this occasion was still reverently preserved (*Historia*, bk. III, ch. 3, p. 227).

12. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 28, fo. 66 states that Fray John wanted to resign earlier, probably when Madre Teresa ceased being prioress of the Incarnation. But neither the nuncio nor the Apostolic Visitor, Fray Pedro Fernández, would allow him to do so.

13. Cf. chapter 16 of the present work with reference to the writings of St John of the Cross.

14. MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 73 *v* definitely gives the date as the 4th — incorrectly since Madre Teresa wrote to Philip II that day, protesting against the imprisonment of the Discalced. (*Letters* vol. II, letter 204.) On the other hand, the Madre wrote to María de San José on 10 December, saying — 'They have already been in prison eight days.' (*Letters*, vol. II, p. 142.)

15. *Letters*, bk. II, letter 207. MS 13460 bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 73 *v*. The former church of the Calced Carmelites still stands at the extreme south-west of the hamlet. Only a few ruined walls remain of the house.

16. Jerónimo de San José gives us to understand that it was in deed as well as in word (*Historia*, bk. III, ch. 5, p. 240).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. Market-place — *Tr.*

2. Nothing remains of the monastery to-day, but it is possible to determine its site.

3. The new Nuncio, Sega, did not cancel the appointment of Gracián until 23 July 1578.

4. The Royal Council cancelled Tostado's letters patent by decree of 5 November 1577.

5. By 1627, this prison cell, converted, with the adjoining room, into the monastic library, no longer existed.

6. So called because it was administered by each of the community in turn — *Tr.*

7. The Epiphany, known as 'the Kings', rather than Christmas day itself, is the great occasion for Christmas festivities in Spain — *Tr.*

8. As to the composition of the poems in the *Dark Night*, the evidence appears to be a little confused, some documents stating that the saint wrote the actual poems in the prison, others that it was the explanation of the poems that he wrote there, and yet others that he dictated the poems from memory to the nuns of Toledo. As P. Crisogóno points out, the last hypothesis would not necessarily exclude the first — *Tr.*

9. Numerous manuscripts give Fray John's escape a miraculous character. According to them it was our Lord and the Blessed Virgin who in frequent visions ordered him to escape. It is said that the Blessed Virgin even showed him the means by which, and the place from which, he should make his escape. Certain of these accounts are given as coming from Fray John himself (MS Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 132 ff.; MS 12738 ff. 23, 24, 810, MS 8568 ff. 467, 468). Without exception the saint's biographers have repeated these miraculous visions. P. Silverio in his *Historia del Carmen Descalzo* has settled this question definitively as he has so many others.

Were these visions and heavenly words perceptible to the senses, or merely an interior grace which brought him consolation and stimulated him to escape? P. Fray Juan Evangelista, the favourite disciple and close friend of St John of the Cross, considers that the escape was miraculous, through the intervention of our Lady (MS 12738, fo. 981). On the other hand, some of the Discalced nuns who heard the saint talk of his imprisonment and escape, speak of *interior* impulses (MS 12738, fo. 22; *ibid.*, fo. 1003).

Furthermore the most complete and authentic account we have of the saint's imprisonment and escape, that of P. Inocencio de San Andrés, who heard it from Fray John when, recently escaped from prison, he arrived at the monastery of El Calvario, again does not mention visions or revelations, although it does speak of a strong impulse (MS 8568, ff. 543–9). The same must be said of the account of P. Juan de Sta. Ana, who was present on the same occasion (MS 12738, ff. 20–1).

An unpublished letter from P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios, one of Fray John's novices in Granada, referring to this problem, discourages any idea of a vision or revelation (MS 12738, ff. 1445–6).

10. MS 8568, fo. 546. This account says the gaoler left the door open while

the friars were at table, whereas the gaoler himself mentioned the time of the siesta. Cf. MS 19407, fo. 145 ff.

11. When the gaoler was dead the crucifix came into the possession of the Discalced friars of Medina del Campo. It has since disappeared.

12. We do not know the exact day. P. Alonso mentioned the 16th (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 36). Another MS (12738, fo. 809) says it was one night during the octave. It can be taken as certain, then, that it was after the 15th.

13. MS 8568, fo. 546. But Jerónimo de San José (*Historia* bk. III, ch. 19, p. 329) says the night was dark. Perhaps to throw into greater relief the supposed ball of light which lit up the fugitive's way miraculously, to which P. Jerónimo attaches so much importance?

14. MS 8568, fo. 546, cf. MS 12738, fo. 20. The difference between these two accounts is slight. MS 8568 says that Fray John loosened the screws of the padlock previously, MS 12738 that through carelessness the gaoler omitted to fasten the padlock.

15. The saint's biographers add miraculous details. (MS 8568, fo. 546; MS 12738, fo. 20; Jerónimo de San José *Historia* bk. III, ch. 19, p. 331; cf. José de Jesús María, *Vida* bk. II, ch. 10 — see MS 12738, fo. 421.)

16. In the closing years of the sixteenth century the Discalced nuns moved elsewhere and in 1608 to the convent they still occupy, to the north-west of the city, near the Cambrón gate. All that remains of the original convent is the chapel of St Joseph and a room in which St Teresa is said to have signed the deeds of the foundation.

17. MS 12738, fo. 401. Although in MS 12738, fo. 823 he is said to have arrived in a very old black cassock, there is no doubt that he arrived in the habit. Perhaps when Constanza de la Cruz saw him he was already wearing the borrowed cassock.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. To-day the street is known as 'Beato Juan Bautista de la Concepción'. In it, opposite what was the Discalced monastery, is the house, now converted into a chapel, where the Beatus was born.

2. Nothing is left to-day of this primitive monastery except some walls, incorporated in modern buildings which scarcely allow of locating the site. The Discalced moved their monastery to the extreme south-east of the town in 1599. The church, in perfect preservation, and part of the garden of this second foundation, are still standing.

3. The first historian of the Reform presumed that Fray John would be against it (*Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 31 p. 663). This, however, was mere supposition, due to eagerness to safeguard the saint's responsibility in a matter which afterwards turned out to be illegal.

4. According to P. Pedro de San Hilarión, Fray John's companion in Baeza, they sent him there to hide him away from the Calced friars (MS 12738, fo. 15). Cf. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 36, fo. 85; *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 31–2, pp. 662–7.

5. It seems that the Chapter fathers did consider not proceeding to extremes. Madre Teresa must have been informed of this, probably by Padre

Gracián, who seemed inclined to the view that the election should not be confirmed. Cf. *Epistolario*, vol. II, letter 253.

6. It has been said that P. Jerónimo Gracián was imprisoned in the Carmelite monastery at Madrid. P. Gracián himself, however, speaking of this imprisonment refers it not to the occasion of the Chapter but to that of his Visitation (*Peregrinación de Anastasio*, dial. 16).

7. It is known that the meeting only lasted a few days. St Teresa assumes that the Chapter was still in session on 15 October (*Letters*, vol. II, letter 253).

8. Père Bruno, led astray by certain MSS of the nuns of Medina, thought that Fray John went there directly after his imprisonment in Toledo (*St Jean de la Croix*, pp. 193–4; cf. MS Vat. proc. de Medina sig. 25, fos. 16 and 29). The nuns' statements, however, should be referred to the occasion when he came out of his first imprisonment in Ávila. Neither P. Antonio, who was in Andalusia, nor P. Gracián, who was in Madrid hiding from the Calced fathers, could have been in Medina when Fray John escaped from prison in Toledo. Moreover, the dates of his leaving Toledo for Almodóvar and Almodóvar for Andalusia are certain. For this we have the testimony of the Carmelite nuns of Toledo. The reference to a visit to Ávila after imprisonment in Toledo (MS 2711, fo. 211 *v*) perhaps refers to the year 1581.

9. Later some houses were built on the left bank of the river. In the sixteenth century the whole town was on the other bank.

10. When the parish church was destroyed by the French the original convent was destroyed too. The present convent, reconstructed in 1899, is on the same site, adjoining the site of the former parish church. The belfry is also later.

11. The verse occurs as the first strophe of a poem in MS 17511 of the Biblioteca Nacional. It is impossible to say whether this was merely the poem sung by the nuns or whether they themselves had composed the song using a well-known verse as its beginning. The poem was discovered by Padre Ángel Custodio Vega and published by him in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1944, pp. 323–5.

12. MS 12738, fo. 418. See MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 37, fo. 87, for another opinion on the part of Padre Alonso as to when this incident took place. There seems no doubt that it occurred on the occasion of Fray John's halt at Beas on his way to El Calvario. He had not begun to act as confessor to the nuns at the date given by P. Alonso.

13. This hired house, owned by an ecclesiastic of Villanueva del Arzobispo, was called *Corenzuela*. As the Discalced friars lived there and a Way of the Cross had been erected in the neighbourhood of the monastery, it began to be called *El Calvario*. The foundation was made at the beginning of December 1576, being transferred there from La Peñuela, which was afterwards re-established. An interesting account of this transfer, written by Fray Brocardo de San Lorenzo, can be seen in MS 7003 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

14. The site has since undergone certain transformations, though the well is still preserved. A great part of the ground has been cleared and converted into an olive grove, like the greater part of the province of Jaén.

15. MS 12738, fo. 351; MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 268. The episode must have occurred before Padre Fernando's taking the habit on 24 June 1579. When Fernando Ortega Cabrio came to the monastery and asked for the habit, Fray John, to test him, said he would receive him as a lay-brother. Fernando,

though dissuaded by his tutor who was with him, accepted. Fray John, seeing in this a proof that the postulant sought God alone, gave him the choir habit (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 39, fo. 90 *v*).

16. Cristóbal de la Higuera was the son of Juan de la Higuera and Melchora de la Cruz. He was a juryman of Ubeda. For his relations with Fray John of the Cross, see MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 196.

17. MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fos. 196–7, from which it will be seen that Fray Brocardo's account and that of Cristóbal de la Higuera do not coincide. Fray Brocardo's account has been followed in the text. See also MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 113 for the date.

18. *huerta* = a vegetable garden or small patch of land under cultivation — *Tr.*

19. In spite of Fray John's gentleness in correction so much praised by all the accounts that have come down to us, it is clear that he did not allow the slightest laxity to be introduced into religious life. Cf. MS 8568, fo. 289.

20. The same thing happened on another occasion with the prioress Ana de Jesús: see MS 12738, fo. 42.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. The expulsion did not take place until after a decree by Philip III on 22 September 1609.

2. Earlier biographers seem uncertain as to the friars Fray John took with him for the foundation. An autograph letter (see MS 12738, fo. 1415) of P. Jerónimo de la Cruz establishes the matter beyond question. See also MS 12738, fo. 15.

3. For differences of opinion as to whether the Vice-Rector was Fray Gaspar de San Pedro or Padre Inocencio de San Andrés, see MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 40, fo. 93; Silverio, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, bk. V, ch. 10, p. 352; MS 12738, fo. 1415 — a MS not used by earlier biographers which proves conclusively that it was Fray Gaspar.

4. The building was enlarged and improved after the seventeenth century. The original Schools have been preserved, adjoining the southern part of the new building. Opposite the new building was constructed at the same time the palace of the Dukes of Benavente. The romanesque church of Santa Cruz is to the south.

5. The College was first called Nuestra Señora del Carmen (José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 18).

6. He was born at Los Hinojosos (Cuenca), went to Ubeda (Jaén) very young and, outstanding for his fervour, was accepted by Master Ávila for the university schools at Baeza. He intended him later to teach catechism to children. He received the Discalced Carmelite habit from the hands of P. Gracián at Baeza, while Fray John was Rector (*Peregrinación de Anastasio*, dial. 13). In 1584 he embarked at Lisbon for the Congo mission. Returning to Spain he exercised his apostolate in Ubeda and Baeza. During a stay in Madrid he was consulted by kings and magnates who deplored his death which took place in 1601.

7. *MS Vaticano proc. de Jaén*, sig. 47, fo. 9. The same account is repeated in

MS 12738, fo. 639. Cf. MS Vaticano, proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo, 15 — cf. MS 8568, fo. 64.

8. The Hospital de la Concepción afterwards underwent transformation. A small, square inner patio, with stone columns and a broad flight of steps leading to the upper part, remain.

9. MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 17 and 13; cf. MS 8568, fos. 63 and 68. Catalina Álvarez was buried in the Discalced nuns' primitive church. When the new church was built, her remains were transferred to the cloister in the enclosure — cf. note in the Book of Professions, fo. 86. The place is marked by a stone with the inscription: 'Here lies the Venerable Señora Cataline Álvarez, mother of our Father San Juan de la Cruz.' Her remains were again transferred in 1900, when alterations were made to the cloister, and were placed in the cloister wall, by the side of those of Inés de Jesús, the first prioress of the convent. The stone, with its inscription, was transferred to this new burial site.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. At 64 she gave evidence in the investigation made in the year 1617. She then described herself as a beata (MS 12738, fo. 184).

2. In 1627, the date of her declaration, she said she was sixty (MS Vaticano proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 102).

3. She did not become a beata but married Francisco de Castillo, a townsman of Baeza (MS 12738, fo. 190).

4. The Constitutions (ch. 4) drawn up by Padre Gracián forbade the giving of the habit to beatas. The occasion mentioned was clearly earlier than Gracián's Constitutions, drawn up at a later period of Fray John's rectorship at Baeza.

5. This nun died high in the odour of sanctity in a convent later founded at Baeza. See MS 12738, fo. 606 for her account of Fray John's reading the secrets of her heart.

6. In spite of the fact that both Christian and surnames are identical, she should not be confused with doña Juana de la Calancha, whom we have seen among Fray John's penitents. The latter became a beata at fourteen and continued in that state (MS 12738, fo. 190).

7. MS 12738, fo. 886. Padre Jerónimo de San José (*Historia*, bk. IV, ch. 15, pp. 460–1) gives a slightly different account, saying the novice fell sick when Fray John spoke to him, but this is inaccurate.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

1. Padre Baltasar even became Tostado's legal adviser, as St Teresa states in her letter to Philip II (*Letters*, vol. II, letter 195).

2. At this time, 5 September, Rubeo, the General of the Order, died in Rome.

3. P. Francisco (*Reforma*, vol. I, bk. V, ch. 23, p. 827) mistakenly supposes that Fray John of the Cross was then prior of Los Mártires, Granada, and was in Beas by accident, whereas P. Alonso (MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 2, fo. 3) says he

was summoned from Baeza by the Vicar-Provincial. The account of Ana de Jesús indicates that he was in Beas (p. 392).

4. The documents do not give the name of the companion of Fray John of the Cross. Perhaps it was P. Pedro de los Ángeles, since it was he who afterwards accompanied Fray John to Granada with the nuns (*Relac. de Ana de Jesús*, p. 394).

5. It is clear from what St Teresa wrote to don Pedro de Castro y Nero that that morning he preached at the profession of Ana de los Ángeles at the convent of St Joseph, at Ávila. In the same letter Madre Teresa refers to her conversations with Fray John (*Letters*, vol. III, letter 390). Padre Silverio thought that perhaps Fray John reached Ávila on the same day, 28 November (*Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, bk. IV, ch. 20, p. 647 note). We think he must have arrived the day before, since it is known for certain that he left Ávila for Andalusia on the following day, 29th, and it was not possible to do all he did in Ávila on one day. We fix the 28th as the date of one of his conversations with the Madre, but not of his arrival.

6. About five months earlier, 6 July 1581, Fray John complained in a letter to Catalina de Jesús of how long it was since he had seen Madre Teresa (*Works*, letter 1).

7. St Teresa wrote to P. Gracián that she had chosen three (*Letters*, vol. III, letter 293), but it appears there were only the two named. Perhaps the third was Beatriz de Jesús, who was in Malagón, thus belonging to Castile as against Andalusia.

8. Ana de Jesús mistakenly said that Beatriz de Jesús came from Toledo. She had been there earlier, but Fray John of the Cross had brought her from Malagón where she was then sub-prioress.

9. Apart from Madre Ana, the nuns from Beas were Beatriz de San Miguel, to whom we owe a detailed account of the journey, Leonor Bautista and Lucía de San José.

10. This small place in the province of Jaén still exists but has grown larger with the passage of time.

11. Cf. Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. V, ch. 23, p. 829.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

1. Historians are not agreed as to the date of Fray John's first visit to Granada. P. Juan Evangelista (MS 12738, fo. 1.439) puts it in the middle of 1581 and says he was already prior when he brought the nuns there. As Los Mártires was without a prior from June 1581, this would seem probable. In that case he must have been elected almost as soon as P. Agustín de los Reyes was transferred to Salamanca. No document can be found, however, giving the least trace of Fray John's having been in Granada before he brought the nuns there. Perhaps he was elected in 1581 but did not take up office until January 1582. The Vicar-Provincial's letters patent naming him Rector of Baeza confirm these suppositions. Had he been Prior of Granada in fact, he would not have called him Rector of Baeza — a title which was still his as prior-elect.

2. Two more, whom the author mentions elsewhere, must be added: Fray Tomás de Jesús, who copied the *Cantico* when a novice (see p. 223), and Fray

Tomás de la Cruz, who received the habit and was professed by the saint (cf. MS 12738, fo. 883 — *Editor's Note*).

3. MS 12738, fo. 562; cf. fo. 36 — Declaration of P. Fernando de la Cruz, a friar from the Granada monastery who, it seems, was also present at the exorcisms. Other accounts give a slightly different version — cf. MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 22 and MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 277.

4. MS 7003, fo. 158; cf. MS 12738, fo. 45 for María de la Concepción's account.

5. Another factor shows the great devotion Fray John had towards the glorious Patriarch of Nazareth. The seal he used for documents represents Mount Carmel crowned by a cross and bordered by the inscription 'San José'. It appears thus in the autograph preserved by the Carmelite nuns of Sanlúcar la Mayor (Cf. P. Gerardo, *Obras del Místico Doctor*, vol. III, p. 78). — *Editor's note.*

6. For some years he kept the letters of Saint Teresa with him but one day he burnt them for greater detachment — MS 12738, fo. 641. — *Editor's note.*

7. Cf. the opinion of P. Evangelista on these recreations — MS 12738, fo. 560. The spiritual conferences which it is still customary to give in Carmel on certain days at recreation originated from the recreations presided over by St John of the Cross (cf. MS 8568, fo. 302) — *Editor's note.*

8. Jerónimo de San José (*Historia*, bk. V, ch. 3, p. 482) mistakenly placed this incident in Granada and P. Silverio copied him (*Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, bk. V, ch. 9, p. 229).

9. We have no authority for the saint's words on this point as we have in the matter of re-elections. Both P. Jerónimo de San José (*Historia*, bk. V, ch. 7, pp. 519–21) and P. Francisco de Santa María (*Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VI, ch. 18) attribute to him a long discourse, but it is of doubtful authenticity. P. José de Santa María (*Vida*, bk. III, ch. 1) gives no direct quotation. Cf. for the opinion of St John of the Cross, however, his *Dictámenes*, in *Obras*, ed. crit. de Toledo, vol. III, p. 59; ed. Burgos, vol. IV, p. 351, and an account of P. Eliseo de los Mártires in MS 13245, fo. 249–50.

10. During his stay in Almodóvar, the fame of his holiness spread outside the monastery, as Fray Francisco de los Apostóles, who had been his companion in Ávila, said — MS 12738, fo. 789 — *Editor's note.*

NOTES TO CHAPTER 15

1. Her age is calculated from the statement she made in 1627 (MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Granada sig. 48, fo. 16).

2. *Works*, letter 18. See letter 9 for reference to further correspondence with this penitent.

3. Madre Isabel de la Encarnación had a portrait made of Fray John (MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 21). It is uncertain whether this is the one mentioned by P. Fernando de la Cruz, or whether they are different. It seems probable they are the same. There are two portraits in the Carmelite convent at Ubeda, one of which may be that Madre Isabel had painted —

see P. Jesús de San Juan de la Cruz, *Homenaje de Ubeda a su compatrono San Juan de la Cruz*, pp. 33–5 (unnumbered), 1935.

4. This house is still standing. The cell of Madre Ana de Jesús and the primitive oratory where St John of the Cross sometimes said Mass can still be seen in the upper part. It was called the house of the Gran Capitán, because he died there in 1515.

5. The house cost some five thousand ducats. Doña Ana de Peñalosa gave them four hundred and the dowries of the first nuns professed, who entered when the convent was in the Calle de Elvira, amounted to four thousand four hundred — see the first Profession Register.

6. On one occasion he fell suddenly and seriously ill there, it was thought of the plague which was rife in Granada at the time. He was cured by the application of a relic of St Teresa, who had recently died (cf. MS de Salamanca, fo. 151, unpaginated) — *Editor's note.*

7. *Ibid.*, fo. 179. The incident occurred at Christmas 1585 when the convent was in the house of the Gran Capitán. José María de Cossío is mistaken in referring this incident to another time and place, as was his source, Jerónimo de San José (*Historia del venerable padre fray Juan de la Cruz*, bk. IV, ch. 11, pp. 428–9); *Poesía española, notas de asedio*, Madrid, 1936. Señor Cossío found the above couplet in the *Cancionero de Barbieri* and in the *Cortesano de Milán* and Dámaso Alonso found it in addition in the *Cancionero de Upsala* (canc. 51) and in the *Orphenica Lira* of Miguel de Fuenllana — see *La poesía de San Juan de la Cruz*, pp. 107, 268.

8. MS 12738, fo. 178. This was not the only favour in regard to her vocation that Agustina de San José received through her confessor. Earlier when she was removed from the convent by the authorities by force at the instance of her mother and relatives, Fray John, who was present, assured her she would return — see MS 8568, fos. 411–12.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 16

1. Of this challenge which, as we have already seen, was held in January 1577, only St Teresa's criticism and the reply of her brother, Lorenzo de Cepeda, have been preserved.

2. Cf. ch. 9. Dámaso Alonso mistakenly thought that all that could be affirmed was that the first thirty strophes of the *Canticle* were written in Toledo (*La poesía de San Juan de la Cruz*, notes to ch. 6, p. 287). It is quite certain that in prison he only wrote the first seventeen strophes, the rest when Rector of Baeza. MS 12944 (132).

3. The two critical editors of the works of St John of the Cross concur in this opinion — P. Gerardo (vol. I, pp. 27–8) and P. Silverio (vol. IV, p. 58). Muñoz y Garnica (*San Juan de la Cruz. Ensayo histórico*, bk. IV, ch. 4, pp. 407–8, Jaén, 1875), one of the first to mention this small treatise, thought it was written at La Peñuela, just before the saint's last illness. This supposition, however, lacks foundation and the date and place of composition cannot be determined with certainty.

4. MS 8568, fos. 17–18. P. Otilio del Niño Jesús has put forward the hypothesis that this work was not lost, but is incorporated in the *Ascent* (bk. III, ch.

35, n. 44) (*El Monte Carmelo*, 1942, p. 363 ff.). The arguments he gives do not lack ingenuity and have a certain appearance of probability; but — apart from the fact that it seems certain the book was written in La Peñuela and not in Guadalcázar (the opinion of P. Alonso, to which P. Silverio inclines, is less weighty than that of P. Agustín de San José referred to above in MS 8568) — it seems difficult to understand why, since the *Ascent* was known to all the Discalced friars, they should conclude that the other treatise was lost.

5. Jean Baruzi denied the authenticity of the second revision of the *Living Flame* in his *St Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique*. His hypothesis was based on a mere subjective appreciation of rationalist type, without any historical foundation, and has already been refuted by P. Silverio (*Obras de San Juan de la Cruz*, vol. IV). See also MS 12738, fos. 17–18, for the evidence of P. Francisco de San Hilarión, the saint's companion at La Peñuela, on this point, and that of José de Jesús María, who knew the friars who were with Fray John at La Peñuela (*Vida*, bk. III, ch. 14).

6. Biased suggestions that have been made as to possible antecedents of the mystical teaching of St John of the Cross are purposely omitted. Attention should, however, be drawn to that of Asín Palacios, the distinguished Spanish Arabic scholar who thought he saw traces of Islam in the writings of the mystical doctor — see his interesting book *Huellas del Islam* (Madrid, 1941), where he suggests Ibn Abbad, of Ronda, as a precursor of the doctrines of the *Ascent of Mount Carmel*. We have already recognized elsewhere (*Revista de Espiritualidad*, no. 1, pp. 102–5) the singular likeness between the teaching of the *Comentario a las sentencias de Ibn Ata Allah*, of Alexandria, and that of St John of the Cross. We deny literary transmission, however. Such coincidences have a perfect explanation, at least where other positive data do not exist, through the community of sources, of character and of purpose which both mystics had.

7. *Ascent*, prologue; *Spiritual Canticle*, prologue; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 7. For his use of Sacred Scripture see MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 5; MS 12738, fo. 1432. Cf. MS 8568, fo. 113. See also MS 12738, fo. 847.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 17

1. MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 10, fo. 130. José de Jesús María (*Vida*, bk. III, ch. 3, p. 728) omits to mention the first part of this Chapter held in Lisbon, referring only to the second held at Pastrana.

2. MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 121. P. Alonso (MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 10, fo. 130) modifies the phrase to — '. . . Provincial of somebody who will give you something to think about.'

3. St John of the Cross himself signed the deed of foundation which ran as follows:

'Jesús, María. To the honour and glory of the Most Holy Trinity — Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three persons and one sole true God, and of the glorious Virgin St Mary of Mount Carmel — was founded this monastery of the lord St Joseph of Discalced Carmelite nuns in Málaga, on the seventeenth of February of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-five. It was founded

with the favour of doña Ana de Pacheco and of Señor Pedro Verdugo, her husband, purveyor of his Majesty's galleons. For this purpose the houses of doña Constanza of Ávila were hired. The following nuns came to make the foundation — firstly, Madre María de Cristo, native of the city of Ávila, daughter of Francisco de Ávila and of doña María del Águila, his wife, who in the world was called doña María de Ávila, and Madre María de Jesús as Sub-prioress, native of the town of Beas, daughter of Sancho Rodríguez de Sandoval Negrete and of doña Catalina Godínez, his wife, who was called in the world doña María de Sandoval. They brought with them Sister Lucía de San José, Sister Catalina Evangelista and Sister Catalina de Jesús, all professed choir nuns. It was founded in poverty without any temporal support. May God be pleased to preserve it in the same until the consummation of the world, so that it may enjoy eternal riches for ever with God. Amen. Given at the said convent of the Lord St Joseph, the first day of July of the year one thousand, five hundred and eighty-six, and we sign it with our names — FRAY JOHN OF THE CROSS, Vicar-Provincial, FRAY DIEGO DE LA CONCEPCIÓN, secretary.' (Cf. *Works*, vol. IV, p. 296.)

4. On journeys he observed the same practices as in the monastery — poverty and austerity in bed and food, recital of the Divine Office always on his knees, the hours of mental prayer, etc. Cf. MS 8568, fo. 302. His conversations while travelling always turned on the favourite themes of his burning devotion — the Blessed Sacrament and our Lady — See MS 12738, fo. 132 — *Editor's note.*

5. This extraordinary spiritual communication between St John of the Cross and Ana de Jesús, his spiritual daughter, occurred more than once. Cf. MS 12738, fo. 41 — *Editor's note.*

6. It still exists as the convent of the Religiosas Filipenses del Buen Pastor. A small cell, coffin-shaped, now an oratory, said to have been used by St John of the Cross is shown. It has two windows, one looking on to the church, the other on to the upper gallery of the patio. In 1614 the Carmelites transferred their monastery outside the city walls, on the north side, where they still are. The San Roque monastery was bought by the Calced Carmelites who converted it into a theological college.

7. The Santo Ángel foundation in Seville was not made until 1588, that of Ecija in 1591.

8. That is, reals of heavier quality silver so that each coin was worth eight ordinary reals — *Tr.*

9. P. Francisco de Santo María (*Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VII, ch. 46) says he was not present. The authority of P. Andrés de la Encarnación, however, who saw the acts and signatures and says that Fray John was present, leaves no room for doubt.

10. It is extant in the archives of the Calced Carmelite fathers in Rome (Cf. Bruno de Jesús María, *St Jean de la Croix*, ch. 18, p. 445, n. 123). The fact that St John signed this letter dated 14 August gives no certainty that he was already in Madrid by that day, since he could have signed it on arrival.

11. In spite of the fact that almost all the saint's biographers assume that he went to Granada to fetch the nuns and accompanied them from there to Madrid, earlier documents make this supposition impossible. P. Andrés de la Encarnación was the first to put right this mistake (MS 13482, fo. 208, and

208 *v*) pointing out that the dates make a journey back to Granada impossible, and that at most he could earlier have brought them to Malagón or Toledo, leaving them there until after the meeting and going back as far as Illescas to meet them. It is in this sense that MS 12738, fo. 1005 is to be interpreted. The unsigned declaration is said to be by one of the nuns for the foundation.

12. Cf. what is said at the end of this chapter about this journey (*Editor's note*).

13. Earlier biographers do not mention this, but the MS quoted (unedited) leaves no room for doubt. Although it is there stated that it was 'when he took . . . Madre Ana de Jesús, who was going to make the foundation of Madrid' (MS 12738, fo. 458), it cannot refer to the outward journey, since there was not time to come from Madrid to Malagón, still less to stop there the time the MS account supposes.

14. These contracts written by the notary and with the autograph signature of St John of the Cross are to be found in the archives of protocols of the town. They were brought to light by P. Matías del Niño Jesús in *El Monte Carmelo* Sept.— Oct. 1943, pp. 259–63 under the title 'An unedited document of St John of the Cross'.

15. Afterwards the saint frequently visited this convent during the time he was Vicar-Provincial. On one of these visits he gave the habit to Fray Francisco de San Hilarión who was later to be his companion in La Peñuela in the last months of his life and to give a very interesting account of his virtues — see MS 7003, fo. 49 and Silverio, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. V, p. 586 (*Editor's note*).

16. We learn this from a paper signed by him on that date, authorizing the purchase of some houses by the nuns (*Obras*, vol. IV, pp. 300–1).

17. A *morisco* is a Moor who has become a Catholic — *Tr.*

18. Cf. MS 12738, fo. 38 and fos. 565 ff. for further details of this incident.

19. See MS 8568, fo. 462 for evidence of the supernatural spirit in which St John of the Cross was present at and intervened in the meetings of diffinitors and Chapters — *Editor's note.*

20. On 2 June 1588, when he was prior of Granada, some days before the Madrid Chapter, as a result of which he was elected a member of the Council and prior of Segovia, he visited the convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns in Málaga, as we learn from an autograph note of his taken from the register of canonical visitations of the nuns — *Editor's note.*

NOTES TO CHAPTER 18

1. The exact date of Fray John's arrival in Segovia cannot be determined. The Madrid Chapter ended on 11 June and at the beginning of August Fray John was already signing as prior (MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 17). The date of 10 August given by P. Bruno (*op. cit.* ch. 19, p. 323) and other historians, is not that of Fray John's arrival but of the transfer of the Consulta. Cf. MS de los prelados, fo. 1, *v* — though the statement that he governed until February 1589 and from October until May 1591 is a mistake. The saint did not cease to be prior in February 1589. There is no explanation for this interval of eight months.

2. Padre Juan Evangelista, the saint's favourite companion, did not come

to Segovia from Andalusia, but from Maqueda (Toledo) in which monastery he was sub-prior from 1587–9, probably elected at the Chapter held in April 1587 (cf. the study *El convento de Maqueda, olvidado en las historias de la orden* 'El Monte Carmelo' 1946, pp. 65–71). We have since found a fresh document about this house in the *Libro de los Capítulos Provinciales de Castilla la Nueva*, fo. 6 *v* no. 15 of the ordinances of the first Chapter — *Editor's note.*

3. MS 19407, fo. 178. The cave is still preserved, although somewhat modified. Incorporated in a chapel, it forms a niche for the altar. The hermitage surrounded with trees has, however, disappeared. It is not certain that that now situated on the very top of the rocks existed in Fray John's time — at any rate, in its present form, it is clearly later.

4. Jerónimo de San José relates that when P. Doria was starting on his visitation he wanted capes made of some pieces of tarpaulin to protect himself and his companion from the rain. Fray John told him that that might pass for others but in the prelate might be considered laxity. P. Doria agreed and gave up the notion. (*Historia*, bk. VI, ch. 1, p. 613) Cf. *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. VIII, ch. 11.

5. Considerable difference of opinion exists among historians as to Fray John's presidency of the Consulta. A document in the archives of Segovia, however, clearly shows that he was president on 21 January 1589 — MS *de la compra del sitio de las peñas*, fo. 17 of the MS and fo. 3 of the deed of purchase. It seems to have been a special appointment made by P. Doria.

6. Professor Allison Peers suggests that this word is an error, as *avenidos* — happy, agreed — makes no sense. It would seem, however, that used as a noun it may well mean 'contracts' or 'agreements' — *Tr.*

7. These two letters were then printed and distributed in all the houses of the Reform, to be read in the refectory. Padre Silverio has reproduced them in the appendices to his *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. VI, pp. 733–46.

8. In a sketch of the monastery and its surroundings made by P. Alonso, near the monastery on the south side he showed a parcel of land with this inscription 'Enclosure of the lady doña Ana'. (MS de la compra de terrenos, fo. 1 *v.*)

9. The devil admitted the same thing on another occasion — see MS 8568, fo. 249.

10. Cf. Chapter 7.

11. This feast is actually, of course, 27 December — *Tr.*

12. It is at present in the museum-chapel of relics and souvenirs of the saint.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 19

1. *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VIII, ch. 45, p. 556. Jerónimo de San José (*Historia*, bk. VII, ch. 2, p. 697) says incorrectly, since it is known it was the eve of Pentecost, that the Chapter began on the 6th — *Editor's note.*

2. There seems some doubt as to whether Fray John was first or third Counsellor in the Chapter — see P. Matías, *El Monte Carmelo*, May–June 1944, p. 149.

3. PP. Antonio de Jesús, Ambrosio Mariano, Luis de San Jerónimo, Juan Bautista el Andaluz and Gregorio de San Ángelo were diffinitors with Fray

John. It is not known with certainty which of them was against him. There is *some* reason, but not a conclusive one, for thinking it may have been either P. Antonio or P. Ambrosio Mariano.

4. P. Jerónimo mistakenly gives the date as 5 June — see P. Silverio *Historia* . . . vol. VI, p. 284.

5. This date is fixed by a letter Fray John wrote to Madre Ana de Jesús on 6 July.

6. Professor Peers suggests this may have been a list of persons to be prayed for (St John of the Cross, *Works*, vol. III, letter 21) — *Tr.*

7. Born in Pastrana in 1549 and dying in Aguilar in 1609, he was the author of the first *Instrucción de Novicios*, written by order of the Consulta in 1590, when Fray John of the Cross was a member, and approved in 1591. He also wrote a *Tratado de Oración* unedited until 1926. Cf. P. Crisógono, *La escuela mística carmelitana*, ch. 6, pp. 118–23 and P. Alberto de la Virgen del Carmen in *Revista de Espiritualidad*, vol. III (1944), p. 157 ff.

8. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the landscape underwent a great change. It was affected by Charles III's repopulation of the Sierra Morena. At present La Carolina, a large industrial town, occupies the site. Practically nothing is left of the monastery, but a hermitage dedicated to St John of the Cross remains in what was part of the *huerta.*

9. MS 12738, fo. 17–18. P. José de Jesús María (*Vida*, bk. III, ch. 14, p. 809) says he was writing the *Living Flame of Love.* No document has been found to confirm this, but it may well refer to a revision of this work which Fray John originally wrote in Granada.

10. P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios twice gives the date of 2 November (MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 28; MS 19404, fo. 176 ff.). In that case Fray John was already in Ubeda. P. Silverio in one place says that the persecution began when he was in La Peñuela.

Despite contrary opinions from P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios (MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 28; MS 19404, fo. 176 ff.) and P. Silverio, who appears to hesitate (cf. *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. V, p. 626 and *Obras de San Juan* . . . , vol. IV, p. 291 n.); there seems no doubt that it was in La Peñuela.

11. St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 26. P. Silverio (vol. IV. p. 401) incorrectly thinks this letter was written from Ubeda — cf. MS 8568, fo. 468.

12. MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 29. Cf. MS Vaticano, proceso inform de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 55, for P. Gabriel de San José's opinion. It seems that somewhat tardily P. Diego was given a small penance, very much softened down by his receiving the Provincialate of Andalusia in 1584 — cf. MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 29. P. Diego died that year on his way to Granada to take up his office — cf. José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. III, ch. 21, p. 449.

13. Besides wanting to die where he was less known and esteemed, he prayed to die as a subject — cf. MS 8568, fos. 113–4 and José de Jesús María, *Historia del Santo*, bk. II, ch. XX — *Editor's note.*

NOTES TO CHAPTER 20

1. See MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 163; 13460, bk. II, ch. 26; Vaticano, pro. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14, de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 3, 8568, fo. 437, de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 271, vol. I, 163, for differences of opinion on this point.

2. Then known as the Linares bridge — MS de Ubeda, vol I, fo. 885, etc.

3. To-day the hill is quite changed, covered with tillage land and olive groves.

4. Monastery and chapel were later considerably enlarged. Scarcely anything of the primitive structure now remains.

5. See MS 8568, fo. 275. MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13 *v* refers to another occasion on which musicians came to Fray John, sent by don Cristóbal de Villarreal. That time, it seems, they played till the end of the visit.

6. P. Antonio made a mistake of a year — it was twenty-three, not twenty-four years.

7. It is not known if P. Antonio remained in Ubeda from 27 November until the saint died or if he left and returned. It is certain that he was there on 27 November and on the day of Fray John's death.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 21

1. *Dictámenes del espíritu*, introd. (in St John of the Cross, *Works*. Sp. ed.). As we have seen, P. Eliseo de los Mártires was with Fray John when he was Rector in Baeza. Ordered by his Superiors to declare what he knew of his life, he recopied in the *Dictámenes* the oral teaching he had received direct from the saint. P. Eliseo went to the Indies as first Visitor-General, afterwards remaining as first Provincial of Mexico and dying there in 1620.

2. The portrait made by P. Jerónimo de San José, which coincides in every point with that of P. Eliseo, although more complete, has only secondary value, since it is not at first-hand. P. Jerónimo did not know St John of the Cross and had to make use of the accounts of those who had known him — cf. *Historia*, bk. VII, ch. 12, pp. 786–7).

3. Cf. Chapter 15.

4. The two Granada portraits were reproduced by P. Silverio at the beginning of vol. V of the *Obras de San Juan de la Cruz*. That of the saint kneeling in the attitude of prayer and with the hands joined has the maximum probability of being the original one, that painted in Granada while the saint was at prayer. The second, showing him writing, shows more traces of artistic composition and is clearly later, although it preserves the features of the earlier one very well. The two Ubeda portraits, preserved in the Carmelite convent there, have also been reproduced — one by P. Jesús de San Juan de la Cruz in a brochure published in 1935 — *Homenaje de Ubeda a su compatrono San Juan de la Cruz* — and the other by P. Silverio in vol. V of the saint's *Works*. Both reproduce the same physical features, although that published by P. Silverio most closely resembles the Granada portrait. The Segovia portraits are each a copy of the other, but both reproduce the characteristic features of the saint. One of them came to Segovia from Valladolid, before 1630 (*Libro de Becerro* of the Carmelite monastery in Segovia).

5. The picture of Sanlúcar de Barrameda was reproduced by P. Silverio at the beginning of his *Obras de San Juan de la Cruz*, vol. I. In spite of what P. Silverio writes (pp. 444–5) it seems clear that it is not the original Granada portrait, for the details are different. For the Valladolid portrait see *Revista de Espiritualidad* July–December 1942, pp. 420–1.

6. In almost all the portraits suggested as original, the saint is shown with the moustache just beginning to grow. Jerónimo de San José exaggerates this slightly as P. Alonso de la Madre de Dios (el Andaluz), who was the saint's novice and companion for a long time, noted — cf. MS 12738, fo. 1443.

7. MS 8568, fo. 409. It seems that this bonnet cured of headache those who put it on. P. Alonso received it from one of the lay-brothers and took it to Almeria to give it to his mother.

8. St Teresa, too, saw this heavenly reflection in him which caused respect — see MS 8568, fo. 69, margin — *Editor's note.*

9. See references in ch. 14.

10. See text in ch. 10 n. 60. A rosary with a diminutive bone skull, said to have been carved by the saint, is still preserved by the Carmelite nuns of Velez-Málaga.

11. See references in ch. 14.

12. Nothing is told us of the illnesses and infirmities of Fray John, yet we know that he habitually suffered from stomach troubles — cf. Fray Martín de San José's account in MS 12738, fo. 856, also reference in fo. 860 — *Editor's note.*

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 1

page	*line*	
1	9	silk merchants: *Archivo de Simancas*, Sec. Div. de Castilla, leg. 10; cf. Rodríguez Fernández, *Historia de Medina*, pp. 667–8; Cristóbal y Julián Paz, *Las antiguas ferias de Medina del Campo* (Valladolid, 1908).
1	23	Madrigal: Juan Villuga, *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España hasta agora nunca visto* . . . (1546).
1	24	Medina: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 1; Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. I, ch. 2, p. 12.
2	5	silk twill: cf. MS 8568, fo. 570 ff.
2	9	silk business: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 2.
2	11	business: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 2.
2	15	Fontiveros: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 2.
2	17	good: MS 19404, fo. 177 *v*; cf. MS 12738, fo. 1379; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 1, fo. 9.
2	22	Catalina Álvarez: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 1, fo. 9.
2	27	with him: MS 19404, fo. 177; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 1, fo. 9; Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 2.
2	32	forthwith: Valasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 2.
2	35	she died: *Ibid.*
3	7	go round: MS Vaticano proc. de Medina, sig. 25; MS 8568, fo. 70; Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 3.
3	10	suffering: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 3; MS 12738, fo. 1379.
3	17	months old: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 3.
3	18	any money: *Ibid.*
3	38	broken up: *Ibid.*, p. 4.
4	15	difficulties: *Ibid.*
4	36	the door: MS Vaticano, proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 9; Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 4.
5	8	her arms: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 1, p. 5.
5	10	home: *Ibid.*, ch. 1 and 2, pp. 4–6.
5	20	hungry there: *Ibid.*, ch. 1, p. 5.
6	17	Fontiveros: *Ibid.*
6	22	livelihood: *Ibid.*, ch. 2, p. 6.
6	25	to her: *Ibid.*
6	29	old: *Ibid.*, p. 7.
7	16	the day: *Ibid.*, p. 6.
7	34	carpets: *Ibid.*, p. 7.
8	14	heaven: *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.
8	19	after: *Ibid.*, ch. 3, pp. 9–12.
8	30	kindness: *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 2

page	*line*	
9	15	Portugal: Rodríguez Fernández, *Historia de Medina*, pp. 667–8.
9	29	go hungry: Cristóbal Espejo, *Las antiguas ferias de Medina del Campo Investigación Histórica*, Valladolid, 1919, p. 54.
10	7	the water: MS 12738, fo. 489.
10	12	this side: Rodríguez Fernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 474–8.
10	16	their weaving: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 4, p. 15.
10	24	of knowledge: José de Jesús María, *Vida del Venerable Padre Fray Juan de la Cruz*, bk. I, ch. 2, p. 18, ed. 1632; Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. I, ch. 3, p. 20.
10	37	honest living: Villar y Macías, *Historia de Salamanca* vol. II, p. 346 (ed. 1887).
11	3	their workshops: Matiás Sangrador Vitores, *Historia de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Valladolid*, pt. I, vol. I, ch. 25, p. 433 (ed. 1851).
11	9	institution depended: *Ibid.*, p. 433; Casimiro González, *Valladolid, sus recuerdos y sus grandezas*, vol. III, pp. 93–5.
11	11	in colour: Villar y Macías, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 346.
11	24	upon them: Archivo del convento de la Magdalena *Libro de la Fundación del monasterio de Santa María Magdalena de Medina del Campo* (MS) n. 8.
11	26	and taught: *Ibid.*; MS Vitores, *op. cit.*, pt. I, vol. I, ch. 25, p. 433.
11	30	called upon: MS *Libro de la Fundación* . . . n. 8.
11	34	notified them: *Ibid.*
11	37	or clothing: *Ibid.*
12	5	was alleviated: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*; MS Vaticano, proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 10, fo. 14, fo. 52, *v*; MS 19404 fo. 178, *v*; cf. Velasco, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 1, p. 90.
12	11	and painter: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*.
12	13	the task: *Ibid.*
12	30	this duty: *Ibid.*; MS Vaticano, proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59.
13	6	goodwill: MS 8568, fo. 371 *v*; MS Vaticano, proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 23; cf. MS 8568, fo. 70.
13	8	the school: MS 8568 fo. 371. Père Bruno de Jésus-Marie has confused the college with the convent — see his *St Jean de la Croix*, ch. 2, p. 7.
13	14	the edge: MS Vaticano, proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 70.
13	15	the water: *Ibid.*, fo. 22.
14	14	and patience: *Ibid.*, fos. 70 and 59.
14	16	his virtue: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*; MS Vat. proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59 *v*.
14	20	bed linen: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*.
14	22	in 1551: *Ibid.*; MS Vat. proc. de Medina, sig. 25 fo. 59 *v*; *Noticia de la antigua Sarabris*, ch. 6, p. 183.
14	25	yards away: MS Vat. proc. inf. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59; Velasco. *Vida de Francisco de Yepes*, bk. II, ch. 1, p. 90; *Noticia de la antigua Sarabris*, ch. 6, p. 183.

page	*line*	
14	31	the afternoon: MS 8568, fo. 371.
14	41	the hospital: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v.*
15	15	is usual: *Lit. Quod. VI*, p. 515. (Quoted by P. Hornedo, 'Fisonomfa poética de San Juan de la Cruz' in *Razón y Fe*, March 1943, p. 242.)
15	21	brother testified: MS 12738, fo. 6, 143 *v.*
15	28	grammar lessons: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*
15	29	and rhetoric: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 1. p. 90.
15	31	were included: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 2, fo. 10, MS 19404, fo. 179.
15	33	that time: P. Hornedo, *Razón y Fe*, n. 542, pp. 220–42. 'Fisonomía poética de San Juan de la Cruz'.
15	37	not excluded: Alcázar, *Historia de la Compañia*, p. 1 decl. 2, ch. 2.
15	41	finally closed: Polanco, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, vol. II, p. 331; vol. III, p. 314, vol. V pp. 421 and 585.
16	6	short time: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v.*
16	12	were finished: MS 12738, fo. 614.
16	18	forty pupils: Statistics for the period (1563), P. Olmedo, *Juan Bonifacio.*
16	23	study embraced: P. Hornedo, *art. cit.* pp. 225–6, MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*, cf. P. Olmedo, *Humanistas y pedagogos españoles, Juan Bonifacio (1538–1606) y la cultura literaris del siglo de oro* (1931).
16	28	and verse: cf. Olmedo, *op. cit.*, p. 54
16	39	and rhetoric: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 1, p. 90, MS Vat. proc. inf. sig. 25, fo. 10.
17	5	short time: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v.*
17	8	Jesuits: MS Vat. proc. inf. sig. 25, fo. 23, cf. MS 8568, fo. 371.
17	30	Santiago: Velasco, *op. cit.* bk. I, ch. 4, p. 15, *ibid.*, ch. 8, p. 35.
17	35	Olmedo: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 3, p. 15.
17	37	'bombazine workers': Archives of the parish of Santiago, Baptismal Registers 1530–1630, fo. 128 *v.*
17	38	own house: MS Vat. proc. inf. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59 *v.*
17	40	virtuous Christian: MS Vat. proc. inf. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 13 and 28.
17	41	spiritual director: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 4, p. 16.
18	4	his brother: MS 12738, fo. 832, MS. Vat. proc. inf. de Alcaudete sig. 47, fo. 128.
18	8	the children: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 4, p. 17.
18	19	was dismissed: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 4, pp. 19–20
18	28	parents are: *Libro de bautizos* of the parish of Santiago, Med. del Campo, from 1530–1630, fo. 124 *v*; id. San Martín (1537–79), fo. 98 *v.*
18	31	often godmother: *Libro de bautizos*, parish of Santiago fo. 128 *v*; id. San Martín, fo. 84, *ib.* ff. 90 *v* and 193.
18	34	expenses involved: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 5, p. 21 ff.
18	38	he died: MS 8568, fo. 68.
18	40	his shoulders: Velasco, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 5, p. 22.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 3

page	*line*	
21	6	the Order: See *Libro de Becerro de la Hacienda de Santa Ana* in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Sec. Carm. Calz. leg. 136) and *Regesta Rubaei*, p. 171.
21	15	Plague Hospital: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*, MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina. sig. 25, fo. 10 and 15.
21	18	their Order: MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 52 *v* and fo. 10.
21	24	our Lady's habit: MS 12738, fo. 613 *v*; MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 60 and 70, etc.
21	27	the council: MS 12738, fo. 614.
21	31	Santo Matía: MS Vat. proc. apost. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 125.
21	40	its gates: Rodríguez y Fernández, *Historia de Medina*, p. 474.
22	4	the sixth: MS 19404, fo. 181, proc. inform. de Segovia.
22	10	Plague Hospital: MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 10.
22	14	and Jesuits: Rodríguez y Fernández, *Historia de Medina*, p. 419 ss.
22	21	the Carmelites: Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, vol. II, bk. III, ch. 9, p. 576 (ed. 1905). Olmedo, *Humanistas y pedagogos españoles; Juan Bonifacio*, X, p. 92, Olea, letter quoted in *Epist. Hist., v.* fo. 84.
22	26	to join: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. I, ch. 4, pp. 27–8.
22	31	reforming it: MS 12837, fo. 911.
22	34	level: MS 2711, fo. 153.
23	4	the case: MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 58 *v*, fo. 62, MS 12738 ff. 288 and 323.
23	10	the monastery: MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 62, 58.
23	12	Santo Matía: *Ibid.*, fo. 53, P. José de Jesús María *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 3.
23	17	had rebelled: *Bibliot. Carm.*, vol. II, col. 294 ss. Luis Pérez de Castro. *Status Ordinis* 1531.
23	24	Santa Ana: Cf. B. Zimmerman, 'Las Reformas de la Orden de Nuestra Señora del Carmen' (Silverio. *Historia de la Reforma*, vol. I, pp. xlviii ss.); *El Monte Carmelo*, 1910. *La provincia de Castilla*, p. 366; *Los provinciales de Castilla*, p. 449.
23	31	del Campo?: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 2, fo. 10.
23	36	teacher: MS Vat. proc. inform. de Med. sig. 25, fo. 10.
24	1	May 1564: Wessels, *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, vol. I, p. 443.
24	2	profession: MS 19404, fo. 181.
24	7	awarded him: Wessels, *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, vol. I, p. 445, n. 5.
24	9	Santa Ana: MS 19404, fo. 181, proc. apost. de Segovia.
24	22	the ceremony: MS Vat. proc. apost. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 58, *v*, 62.
24	28	the Order: MS 12738, fo. 1, 379.
24	38	holy Mother': MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 10.
25	3	great acumen: MS Vat. proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 10.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 4

page	*line*	
26	14	Spanish provinces: *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, vol. I, p. 429.
26	21	ten crowns: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 429.
26	24	the week: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 429.
26	27	generously': *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 429.
27	1	be enlarged: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 452.
27	4	welcomed: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 452.
27	12	Andalusia . . . : *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, pp. 444–50.
27	16	university: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 453.
27	18	gravity: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 453.
27	25	prescribed: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
27	32	for it: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 463.
27	35	lay brothers: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
27	37	of grammar: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 471.
28	1	and rhetoric: MS Vat. proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 10.
28	5	matriculated: Archives of Salamanca University Matriculation Register, 1564–5, fo. 17–18.
28	7	students: *id.*, 1561–2, fo. 6.
28	9	theology: *id.*, 1562–3, fo. 15.
28	10	students: *id.*, 1563–4, fo. 15.
28	21	university dues: *Statutes of 1561* — tit. XLIII — Sons of doctors and masters paid nothing and grammarians three maravedís.
28	23	1565: Matriculation Register 1564–5, fo. 17 *v.*
28	25	omission: Statutes, No. XLIII.
28	30	entries: In 1566–7 Fray John is set down as a native of Fontiveros. Perhaps he attended personally in that year.
28	38	Durandus: Matriculation Register 1564–8, 1564, fo. 2, 1568, fo. 3, etc.
29	3	Scotus: Matriculation Register of 1564, etc.
29	15	seven thousand: Pedro Chacón, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, p. 37 (Semanario erudito de Valladares, vol. XVIII). The information about the university contained in this book is highly interesting, since Chacón wrote his *Historia* towards 1569, the year in which St John of the Cross was absent from Salamanca.
29	19	languages: Pedro Chacón, *Historia*, p. 37.
29	26	hundred: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
29	30	Castilians: Cf. Matriculation Registers where the region from which each student came is noted down.
30	6	cassock: Rojas y Contreras, *Historia del Colegio viejo de San Bartolómé, mayor de la celébre Universidad de Salamanca*, vol. III, p. 27. Cf. Statutes of 1505 for the University of Valladolid, which were identical with those of Salamanca. Imprisonment for four days and confiscation of the offending garments was the penalty for wearing incorrect dress. (*Statutes*, tit. lxiii, pp. 347–8.)
30	12	governing body: Rojas y Contreras, *Historia*, vol. III, p. 7.

page *line*

30 17 devotion: *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 89.
30 21 three portions: *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 85.
30 24 permitted . . . : *Ibid.*, p. 88.
30 29 was ended: *Ibid.*, p. 17.
30 30 were chained: *Ibid.*, p. 25.
30 33 misdemeanour: *Ibid.*, pp. 26–7.
30 36 college walls: *Ibid.*, p. 27.
31 8 Discalced friars: Pedro Chacón, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Semanario erudito de Valladares, vol. XVIII, p. 36).
31 17 both courses: Pedro Chacón. *Historia*, p. 37
31 19 sixty: Cf. Villar y Macías, *Historia de Salamanca*, vol. I, p. 292.
31 36 vacation: *Statutes* tit. XXI, p. 267. Cf. *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, XCIV.
32 8 it down: *Statutes*, tit. XXI, p. 266.
32 25 following year: Beltrán de Heredia. 'Los manuscritos del maestro Vitoria' (in *Ciencia Tomista*, n. 105, p. 315).
33 2 three reals: *Statutes*, tit. XXI, p. 267.
33 7 lecture hall: *Ibid.*, tit. XXL, p. 263. Cf. *Historia de la Universidad de Valladolid*, p. CXV.
33 13 Theology: *Statutes*, tit. XIX, p. 262.
33 26 de León: For his theological teaching, very little known, the edition of his Latin works which includes the teaching given from his Chair at the University of Salamanca, should be consulted. *Mag. Luysii Legionensis augustiniani divinrum librorum primi apud salmanticenses interpretis opera nunc primum ex MS eiusdem omnibus PP. Augustiniensium studio edita . . . Salmanticae MDCCCXCII.*
33 29 professor: *Statutes*, tit. XII, p. 257.
33 37 Salamanca: Chacón, *Historia de la Universidad*, pp. 10–11.
34 1 dismissed: *Opus cum eminentissimum tum clarissimum perspicacissimi doctoris Henrici Hernández atque in artibus magistri cathedram primae in naturali facultate regentis in admodum Universitate Salmanticensi; utile atque necessarium cuique philosopho, theologo, atque medico. In quo omnes fere difficultates naturales clare explanantur et enodantur. In octo sectiones divisum Salmanticae. In aedibus Ioannis Iuntae. Anno Domini MDXLIII.* A rare work which Nicolás Antonio failed to discover. It is in the library of the University of Salamanca.
34 7 St Thomas: *Opus*, sect. 2, fo. XIII, *v.*
34 10 compound: *Ibid.*, sect. 2, fol. XIV.
34 12 original: *Ibid.*, fo. XXVI.
34 13 nominalist: *Ibid.*, sect 3, q. 13, *De intentione*, fo. LIX verso.
34 18 established: *Ibid.*, sect. 2 *De natura in ordinem ad formam*, q. 12, fo. XLI.
34 21 St Thomas: *Ibid.*, sect. 2, q. 8, 6th conclusion, fo. XXII.
34 22 bilocation: *Ibid.*, sect. 5, *De loco et locato*, fo. LXVI verso.
34 36 realists: Villar y Macías *Hist. de Salamanca*, vol. I, p. 290.
35 31 monastic library: *Acta Capit. General*, p. 338.

page	*line*	
35	32	obligatory: *Constitutiones Carmeli*, ch. 18 and 4, p. 41 (ed. 1766).
35	35	provinces: *Ibid.*
36	2	defended: *Constitutions*, ch. 18 and 4, p. 41 (Rome 1766).
36	18	soul: Doctoris Resoluti Io. Bachonis angli carmelitae, theologi celeberrimi et canonistae praecipui *Quaestiones in IV Libros Sentemtiarum et Quodlibetales*, Cremonae MDCXVIII — *In II Sent.* dist., 37, q. 1, a. 2, pp. 671–8.
36	23	self-determination: *In II Sent.* dist. 25, q. 1, a. 2, p. 616; *ibid.*, dist. 29, q. 1, a. 1 et 3, pp. 636–9.
36	30	*essendi: In III Sent.*, dist. 10, q. 1, a. 6, p. 65.
36	34	*quantitate: In III Sent.*, dist. 11, q. 2, a. 2, pp. 73–3.
36	36	results: *In III Sent.*, dist. 19, q. 1, a. 1, pp. 119–21.
37	1	Scriptures: *In I Sent.*, prol., q. 3, a. 1, pp. 25–32.
37	8	man: *In I Sent.*, q. 1, a. 3, p. 9.
37	10	without it: *In I Sent.*, prol., q. 2, a. 2, p. 19.
37	12	attributes: *In I Sent.*, dist. 2, q. 2, a. 3, pp. 72–7.
37	14	the soul: *In I Sent.*, dist., 3, q. 3, a. 1, pp. 104 ff.
37	15	understanding: *In III Sent.*, dist., 26, q. 1.
37	17	supernatural: *In I Sent.*, dist., 17, q. 1 and only.
37	18	human nature: *In I Sent.*, dist., 1, a. 1, p. 8 ff.
37	19	acts: *In III Sent.*, dist., 29, q. 1, a. 2, p. 175.
37	21	principles: *In II Sent.*, dist., 6, q. 1, p. 511.
37	25	Tormes: *Acta capit. general.*, vol. I, p. 427.
37	41	lectures: Matriculation Register 1567–8, fo. 16.
38	2	application: MS 19404, fo. 182, MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59.
38	4	students: Cf. *Constitutions* (Sect. *De studiis et studentibus*) drawn up at Ávila by the new General, Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo. (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 2, fo. 12.)
38	7	presented: *Ibid.*
38	18	theologians: *Acta capit. general.* vol. I, p. 426.
38	22	faculty: The same Chapter General (1548) fixed the period of study of scholastic theology at two years at least, during which the four books of the Master of the Sentences were to be explained, two each year. It was forbidden to attend other classes in theology, except those providing explanations on the Quodlibets or other similar strictly scholastic subjects. (*Acta capit. gener.* vol. I, p. 428.)
38	27	St Gregory: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 4.
38	38	his pen: *Ibid.*, bk. I, ch. 4.
38	41	narrow: MS Vaticano proc. apost. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59 and 53.
39	1	prayer: MS 12738, fo. 911; MS 19404, fo. 1379.
39	4	cell: MS Vaticano, proc. apost de Medina sig. 25, fo. 59 and 53.
39	13	alone: MS 12738, fos. 911–12. MS 19404, fo. 238.
39	16	Medina: MS Vaticano proc. inform de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 72.
39	19	coming: MS 12738, fo. 911. MS Vaticano proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 59.

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39 22 comes: MS 19404, fo. 182; MS 12738, fo. 1–379.
39 29 worked: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 4.
39 31 staircase: MS 12738, fo. 16; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 10. (It is not known whether this was at Salamanca or Medina.)
39 38 del Campo: MS 12738, fo. 164. Cf. St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. I, letter 10. MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 53.
40 5 sub-prior: MS 2711, fo. 420.
40 7 there: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 7.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 5

41 2 del Campo: *Foundations*, ch. 3, cf. Julian of Ávila *Vida*, pt. II, ch. 8, p. 249.
41 14 now triumphed: Cf. *Vida*, ch. 32–6 and Silverio de Santa Teresa, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. II, ch. 1 ff.
41 17 Ávila: He came to Spain 13 May 1566, and to Ávila 11 April 1567 (Cf. Regesta Iohannis Baptistae Rubei . . . nunc primum in lumen edita a R.P. Fr. Benedicto — María a S. Cruce (Zimmerman) (*Analecta Ord. Carm. Disc.;* Romae 1935 ff.).
41 18 Castile: This was not the case in Cataluña. A General Chapter had been held there even in 1324 under Fray Juan de Alerio (*Acta capit. gener.*, vol. I, p. 24).
41 22 intentions: *Foundations*, ch. 2.
41 25 nuns: *Regesta Rubei*, p. 47, *Foundations*, ch. 2.
41 30 Reform: *Foundations*, ch. 2.
42 2 indication: *Ibid.*
42 5 request: *Ibid.*
42 12 hinges: *Foundations*, ch. 3.
42 17 church: Ribera, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 9; *Foundations*, ch. 3.
42 29 daughters: *Foundations*, ch. 3; *Memorias historiales* R. no. 279, see *Expenses Book* of the Carmelite friars of Santa Ana de Medina, copied by P. Andrés de la Encarnación in his M.h.
42 33 Heredia: Zimmerman, *Regesta J. B. Rubei*, fo. 104 (Analect OCD, pp. 56–8, n. 154) (*Editor's note*).
42 38 General: MS 12738, fos. 1, 213.
43 16 man: *Foundations*, ch. 3.
43 18 him: *Ibid.*
43 19 time: Julián de Ávila, *Vida de la Madre Teresa*, pt. II, ch. 8, p. 257.
44 4 Matía: *Foundations*, ch. 3.
44 6 arranged: MS 12738, fo. 614.
44 14 hands: María de San José. *Libro de las Recreaciones.*
44 18 glance: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. VII, ch. 12, pp. 786–7.
44 30 recollection: *Foundations*, ch. 3. MS 12738, fo. 217; *MS Vaticano* proc. apost. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 53; MS 8568, fo. 417; MS 12738, fo. 614 — See MS 12738, fo. 28 and MS 2711, fo. 261 verso for the evidence as to his possible earlier desire to be a

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Franciscan. It would seem that 'Franciscan' is probably a mistake for 'Carthusian'.

44 32 there: *Foundations*, ch. 3.

44 36 friars: MS 12738, fo. 614; *Foundations*, ch. 3, MS 13482, J. 41; *Memorias Historiales*. According to María Evangelista, the half friar was not Fray John, but Fray Antonio de Heredia. According to Gracián, however, (*Adiciones y escolios a la 'Vida del Padre Ribera*), the expression referred to the saint's small stature.

45 5 student: Matriculation Registers 1567–8, fo. 16.

45 14 Santa Ana: MS Vaticano proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 10 and 53.

45 28 30 June: *Foundations*, ch. 13.

45 32 was all: *Foundations*, ch. 13.

45 37 alone: *Ibid.*

45 39 pigsty: *Ibid.*

46 9 Duruelo: *Foundations*, ch. 13.

46 14 wisdom: MS 8568, fo. 72.

46 15 to him: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 13, fos. 29 *v*–30, cf. MS 8568, fo. 72.

46 22 friar: MS 12738, fo. 1–375.

46 23 habit : MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 8, fo. 18; *ibid.*, fos. 29–30.

46 39 reform: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 8, fo. 17 *v*.

47 9 them: *Foundations*, ch. 10.

47 12 her: *Foundations*, ch. 10.

47 17 malice: *Foundations*, ch. 13.

47 27 nothing': *Foundations*, ch. 14.

47 33 life: *Foundations*, ch. 13.

47 34 community: MS 13460, fo. 29 *v*.

47 38 corporals: MS 12738, fo. 1741.

48 7 any way: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 10.

48 14 undo it: *Foundations*, ch. 14.

48 18 there: MS Vaticano, proc. inform de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 17. Cf. *Libro de Cuentas de las Descalzas de Medina*, fo. 3.

48 22 exactitude: *Foundations*, ch. 14.

48 25 church: MS 12738, fo. 1.041.

48 27 Campo gate: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 3, fo. 18.

48 30 Ávila: *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España, etc.* by Pero Juan Villuga of Valencia, 1546.

49 24 prosper him: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 10.

49 32 monastery: MS 8568, fo. 117. Cf. MS 12738, fo. 1.413.

49 39 Peñaranda: *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España*, etc. by Pero Juan Villuga of Valencia, 1546 (not folio'd).

50 7 roads: *Foundations*, ch. 13.

50 26 Teresa: *Foundations*, ch. 13.

50 33 labourer: MS 12738, fo. 1413. Padre Alonso declares that he put on the habit immediately on arriving at Duruelo (MS 13460, bk. 1, ch. 8, fo. 18).

50 41 pheasants: MS 12738, fo. 1413. MS 8568, fo. 117.

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51	7	skull: MS 13460, fo. 19.
51	11	skulls?: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
51	14	Heredia: *Ibid.*, bk. I, ch. 9, fo. 20.
51	20	villages: MS 12738, fo. 615. Cf. MS Vaticano, proc. inform. sig. 25, fo. 15.
52	13	Reform: See MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 9, fo. 20, MS 12738, fos. 701 and 1213, MS 2711 fo. 153 for fuller details of this attitude on the part of P. Antonio de Heredia.
52	19	mitigation: MS 2711, fo. 148, MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 9, fo. 20.
52	33	monastery: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 9, fo. 20 *v.*
53	38	nuns: *Foundations*, ch. 14.
54	17	into you: MS 8568, fo. 291.
54	23	rains: *Foundations*, ch. 14.
54	27	vegetables: Julian of Ávila, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 8, p. 265.
54	29	distraction, MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 17.
54	30	needed: *Foundations*, ch. 14.
54	35	spring: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 9, fo. 20 *v.*
54	39	sub-prior: *Ibid.*, bk. I, ch. 18, fo. 43.
55	2	Ángeles: MS 8713, fo. 97.
55	4	Reform: For details of these two postulants see Silverio, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. V, p. 58, vol. viii, p. 620–5.
55	10	palace: *Foundations*, ch. 14.
55	11	preacher: Julian of Ávila, *Vida*, pt. II, ch. 8, p. 257.
55	11	smiling: *Foundations*, ch. 14.
55	14	life: *Ibid.*
55	37	novices: MS 8713, fo. 96–7.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 6

57	3	religious: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 19, fo. 46 *v* — Fray Jerónimo de San José reduces the number to ten (*Historia*, bk. II, ch. 6, p. 147).
57	10	San Pablo: MS 8713, fo. 97; MS 8020, fos. 100–1. We do not know when the latter entered — cf. MS 8713, fo. 96.
57	17	Pius V: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 19, fo. 47.
58	2	witnesses: MS 8713, fo. 97; P. Manuel de Santa María, *Espicilegio historial.*
58	20	Éboli: *Foundations*, ch. 17.
59	3	1570: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 17.
59	4	immediately: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 6, p. 148. For a different opinion from P. Silverio, see his *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. III, ch. 17, p. 468 ff.
59	21	Pastrana: Pero Juan Villuga, *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España* (unfolio'd), Medina, 1548.
59	28	for him: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 17.
60	28	theology: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 6, p. 157.
60	39	monastery.

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61 16 before: See Ana de Jesús, *Informaciones sobre la canonización de la santa virgen Teresa de Jesús*, fo. 139 — MS in the archives of the Carmelite fathers of Salamanca.

61 26 opened: *Foundations*, ch. 20. Although the deeds of surrender were signed privately on 3 December 1570, the official deeds were not drawn up until 24 January 1571.

61 29 Alba: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 20, fo. 48. P. Alonso, who heard of it from the nuns in question, is the authority for this journey, about which Fray John's first two biographers are silent.

61 39 confessions: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 20, fo. 48.

62 17 consult him: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 19, fos. 46, I°–47.

62 21 at once: *Ibid.*, bk. I, ch. 20, fo. 48.

62 23 1571: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

62 25 Mancera: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

63 8 did so: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 6, p. 155 ff.

63 31 hundred: Cf. Juan Urriza, *La preclara facultad de artes y filosofía de la Universidad de Alcala de Henares*, (1509–1621), Madrid, 1942.

64 5 go by: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 6, p. 156; José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 19; cf. Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. II, ch. 43, p. 347.

64 8 university: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 6, p. 157.

64 13 street: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 20, fo. 49; MS 2711, fo. 261 *v.*

64 21 disciples: MS 12738, fo. 218.

64 32 fervour: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 19; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 20, fo. 48 *v*–49.

64 35 first: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 6, p. 157.

65 5 history: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 21, fo. 52.

65 23 perfect: See P. Gracián, *Peregrinación de Anastasio*, dial. 1, for his eye-witness account.

65 35 scarce: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 21, fo. 51 *v.*

66 8 habit: Gracián, *op. cit.*, dial 1.

67 8 mistaken: Jerónimo de San José publishes this letter in its entirety — *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 7, p. 163 ff.

67 13 understand: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 21, fo. 52. Jerónimo de San José repeats this — *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 7, p. 162.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 7

68 3 prioress: This appointment was for July of the same year — cf. Silverio, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, bk. III, ch. 16, p. 430 ff.

68 4 Lord: Santa Teresa, *Works*, ed. crit., vol. II, p. 53.

68 19 hunger: *Regesta Rubei*, fo. 98.

68 22 Discalced nuns: Santa Teresa, *Works*, vol. II, p. 113 ff.

68 25 Incarnation: María Pinel, *Historia del convento de la Encarnación* (MS).

69 11 city walls: *Informaciones*, vol. XIX, p. 326.

69 15 white cloak: *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 320.

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69	16	choir: María Pinel, *Historia*, p. 107; *Informaciones*, vol. I, p. 320.
69	28	recriminations: *Informaciones*, vol. I, p. 309.
70	6	grieved her: St. Teresa, *Letters*, vol. I, letter 34.
70	18	ducats: *Informaciones*, vol. I, p. 42; *Letters*, vol. I, letter 34.
70	19	poor nuns: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 35.
70	32	right: *Ibid.*, vol. I, letter 31.
70	40	improving: *Ibid.*, vol. I, letter 34.
71	7	Mendoza: *Ibid.*, vol. I, letter 34.
71	12	Teresa: *Informaciones*, vol. I, p. 223. P. Alonso says that the Commissioner consulted Ormaneto, the nuncio, who approved the appointment (MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 21 fo. 52 *v*).
71	33	confessor: MS 19404, fo. 190 *v*; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 22, fo. 53; MS 19407, fo. 151
71	40	Cross: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 39. For a difference of opinion as to the date of the saint's arrival, see MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 22, fo. 53 (P. Alonso) and Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. II, ch. 50.
72	13	Pastrana: MS 3557, fo. 287. P. Pedro de la Purificación gave the number as seven, adding that the purpose of their being there was the reform of the monastery — MS 2711, fo. 262 *v*; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 20, fo. 48.
72	36	began: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 22, fo. 54 *v*.
72	38	thirty: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 28 *v*.
73	2	before: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 22, fo. 53 *v*.
73	12	upon it: MS 19407, fo. 152.
73	13	exhortations: *Ibid.*, fo. 151.
73	15	perfect: MS 12738, fo. 491.
73	16	youngest: MS 8568, fo. 62.
73	23	Commissioner: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 24, fo. 56.
73	31	early days: MS 2711, fo. 262 *v*; MS 12738, fo. 30; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 24, fo. 56.
73	37	for them: *Informaciones*, vol. I, p. 223.
74	6	furniture: MS 19407, fo. 151.
74	7	yard: MS 12738, fo. 563.
74	8	bed: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 23, fo. 55.
74	11	house: MS 12738, fo. 789.
74	12	frieze: MS 19407, fo. 152.
74	16	sick: *Ibid.*
74	19	house: MS 12738, fos. 563, 893; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 24, fo. 57 — cf. MS 8568, fo. 114.
75	9	St Stephen: MS 12738, fo. 567; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 24, fo. 57.
75	32	virtue: MS 19407, fo. 151; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 24, fo. 56 *v* — cf. *Ibid.*, ch. 23, fo. 54 *v* for P. Alonso's version.
76	2	without shoes: MS 19407, fo. 151.
76	11	father: *Ibid.*
76	18	well: MS 19407, fo. 151; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 22, fo. 53 *v*.
76	38	confessor: MS 19407, fo. 152.

page *line*

77 3 tomb: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 28 *v*: cf. MS 8568, fo. 71; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 23, fo. 55 *v*.
77 7 face: MS 12738, fo. 985.
77 12 confessor: *Ibid.*, fos. 490, 491.
77 23 thought: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 29, fo. 67.
78 17 like him: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 251; MS 12738, fo. 828.
78 32 host: cf. MS. 5868, fo. 69, inf. de Medina.
78 41 mine: Santa Teresa, *Works*, ed. crit., vol. II, p. 64.
79 14 heaven: MS 12738, fo. 178.
79 23 Incarnation: *Letters*, vol I, letter 43.
79 33 twenty: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. II, ch. 1, p. 195.
80 4 infused: MS 12738, fo. 20.
80 10 Teresa: MS 19404, fo. 195.
80 16 things: MS 12738, fos. 290, 324.
80 24 Gracia: MS 19404, fo. 194 *v* ff.; MS 12738, fos. 23, 789; MS 3537, fo. 281; MS 2711, fo. 262 *v*.
81 6 chasuble: MS 12738, fo. 789.
81 13 vested: *Ibid.*
81 18 man: *Ibid.*, fos. 985, 986.
81 32 priest: MS 19404, fo. 195.
81 40 with you: *Ibid.*
82 12 God: MS 12738, fo. 324.
82 31 once more: MS 12738, fo. 789. Cf. fo. 220 for P. Inocencio de San Andrés' account.
82 34 nightmare: MS 19404, fo. 195 *v*; cf. MS 12738, fo. 578.
82 37 many years: MS 12738, fo. 931.
83 10 at once: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 43. For different opinions as to the number of devils in question — see MS 12738, fos. 578, 985–6; MS 19404, fo. 195.
83 16 Trinity: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 26, fo. 61.
83 35 freed: MS 19404, fo. 194 *v*; MS 12738, fo. 1381; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 26, fo. 61.
84 8 mercy: MS 12738, fo. 789.
84 17 possessed: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 43.
84 30 neurasthenic: MS 12738, fos. 894, 899; cf. MS 8568, fo. 65; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 29, fo. 72.
85 4 heaven: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 28 *v*.
85 24 cross: *Foundations*, ch. 21.
86 6 Sacrifice: Santa Teresa, *Works*, vol. II, p. 386.
86 25 described it: MS 19407, fo. 7.
86 29 Ávila: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 25, fo. 58.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 8

87 9 Teresa: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 74.
89 6 met: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 28, fo. 63 — cf. P. Wessels, *Acta Capit. General. Carmel.*, vol. I, p. 444 ff.

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89	15	year: Wessels, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 80.
89	17	Visitors: Wessels, *op. cit.*, p. 486.
90	22	asked for: Wessels, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 512–3.
90	32	provinces: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 74.
90	37	carried out: cf. *Letters*, vol. I, letter 74.
90	40	Tostado: *Ibid.*, vol. I, letter 107.
91	19	Asunción: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 29, fo. 68; *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 50.
91	23	Almodóvar: Pero Juan Villuga, *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España*, etc. Itinerary from Castile to Seville through Toledo (unfolio'd).
91	29	appointment: Brief of 3 August 1576.
91	35	Andalusia: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 41, p. 756.
91	37	Cross: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 2; Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. III, ch. 2, p. 223; *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 41, p. 558.
92	1	Constitutions: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, ch. 2; Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. III, ch. 2, p. 223. Cf. *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 4, p. 559.
92	19	Discalced: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 105.
93	29	public: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 204; *ibid.*, vol. I, letter 91.
93	34	there: *Ibid.*, vol. II, letter 204.
93	38	returned: *Ibid.*, vol. I, letter 91.
94	6	life: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 204.
94	12	and confessor: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 29, fo. 69 *v.*
94	19	office: *Ibid.*, ch. 28, fo. 66.
94	26	*in me:* Santa Teresa, *Works*, ed. crit, vol. VI, pp. XLVII–L and 65–8.
94	40	too much: *Ibid.*, p. 68.
95	22	happened: MS 19407, fo. 151 — cf. MS. 13460, bk. I, ch. 29, fo. 73 *v*; MS 8568, fo. 62.
95	24	house: MS 8568, fo. 543.
95	28	Mancera: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 3.
95	34	arrived: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 204.
95	34	door: MS 2711, fo. 626 *v.*
95	35	hoods: MS 19407, fo. 154 — cf. MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 73 *v.*
95	36	monastery: MS 2711, fo. 262 *v* — cf. MS 12738, fo. 30.
95	38	convent: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 74.
95	41	us go: *Ibid.*, fo. 73 *v.*
96	11	prioress: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 204.
96	12	Incarnation: MS 19404, fo. 190 — cf. MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 73 *v.*
96	14	twice: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 207.
96	18	robe: MS 8568, fo. 543; José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 3.
96	27	straight away: MS 12738, fo. 1108 — cf. *ibid.*, fo. 1215 *v.*
96	30	to them: MS 12738, fo. 1108.
96	32	papers: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 204.
96	36	Discalced: MS 12738, fo. 1108.

page *line*

97 3 guarded: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 207.
97 12 del Campo: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 73 *v.*
97 13 mule: MS 12738, fo. 997.
97 15 town: *Ibid.*
97 18 sleet: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 73 *v.*
97 29 offer: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 73 *v*–74; José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 3; Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. III, ch. 5, pp. 239–40.
98 3 poisoned: *Letters*, vol. I, letter 123.
98 4 him: *Ibid.*, letter 87.
98 23 Carmelite: *Ibid.*, vol. II, letter 204.
98 29 Tostado: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
98 31 Moors: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
98 40 apostolic: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*,
99 4 dismayed: *Ibid.*, letter 210.
99 5 been: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
99 8 confessor: MS 12738, fo. 941.
99 14 Fernández: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31, fo. 74 *v.*
99 16 Council: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 205.
99 21 catastrophe: *Ibid.*, letter 210.
99 23 Cross: *Ibid.*

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 9

100 4 Zocodover: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 9.
100 10 Castile: *Regesta Ioannis Baptistae Rubei . . .*, fo. 77 *v* — *Analecta*, p. 43, n. 103.
100 10 walls: MS de la Biblioteca Prov. de Sevilla, shelf 331, n. 157, fo. 302.
100 14 to it: MS 12738, fo. 1215.
100 21 escape: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. III, cg. 5, p. 241; MS 12738, fo. 1215.
100 24 before him: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 207.
100 27 upon him: MS 8568, fo. 543.
100 28 silent: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 53; MS 12738, fo. 224; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 31, fo. 74.
101 5 community: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 31, fo. 74.
101 35 pontificate: *Acta capit. general. carmel.*, vol. I, pp. 508–15.
102 14 Gracián: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 210.
102 16 Order: Cf. Silverio, *Historia*, vol. IV, append. II, p. 829 for text of the nuncio's Brief.
102 25 the matter: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 240.
102 37 life: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 33, fo. 74; MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 136 *v.*
102 41 gold: MS 12738, fo. 567; MS 8568, fo. 543; MS 12738, fo. 907.
103 2 trinkets: MS 12738, fo. 567 — cf. *Ibid.*, fo. 810.
103 6 Visitor: Constitutions of 1460.
103 8 prison: MS 12738, fo. 19, cf. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 33, fo. 77 *v.*

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103	11	tomb: MS 8568, fo. 543.
103	15	corridor: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 38, fo. 77; MS 12738, fo. 19, fo. 919; MS 19404, fo. 204.
103	17	bed: MS 8568, fo. 543; MS 12738, fos. 20, 919, 997.
103	18	winter's day: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 31, fo. 74.
103	20	breviary: MS 12738, fo. 19.
103	22	Madre Teresa: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 159.
103	23	frost-bite: MS 8568, fo. 475.
103	27	tiny cell: MS 12738, fos. 19,997.
103	37	of him: MS 8568, fo. 543.
103	38	tomb: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 38, fo. 78; MS 12738, fo. 920.
103	39	wretched: MS 8568, fo. 544.
103	40	a one: MS 12738, fo. 919, fo. 20.
103	41	leavings: MS 12738, fo. 20.
103	41	week: MS 12738, fos. 810, 19–20, 401.
104	3	rebels: Constitutions of 1462, ch. 50.
104	7	hood: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 31, fo. 74.
104	9	water: MS 12738, fos. 20, 810; MS 8568, fo. 543.
104	17	disturbance: MS 12738, fos. 997, 418; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 33, fo. 77 *v.*
104	20	*Miserere:* MS 8568, fo. 543; MS 12738, fos. 810, 19–20; MS 19407, fo. 145.
104	21	vigorously: MS 8568, fo. 543; MS 19407, fo. 145; MS 12738, fo. 810.
104	23	Toledo: MS 12738, fo. 559.
104	25	attitude: MS 12738, fo. 20; MS 19407, fo. 145.
104	30	they like: MS 12738, fos. 401, 417; cf. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 38, fo. 77 *v.*
104	37	following year: Matriculation Register, 1564–5, fo. 17 *v*; 1565–6, fo. 12 v.
104	40	theologian: *Ibid.*, 1566–8, fos. 12 *v*, 17, 16 respectively.
105	15	lice: MS 12738, fos. 997, 20, 919, 305.
105	18	body: MS 12738, fos. 920,19.
105	35	begun: MS 12738, fo. 1003.
105	37	body lay: MS 8568, fo. 544.
106	2	San José: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 207.
106	3	19th: *Ibid.*, letter 208.
106	7	prisoner: *Ibid.*, letter, 210.
106	9	Rome: *Ibid.*, letter 218.
106	13	delay: *Ibid.*, letter 204.
106	15	Council: *Ibid.*, letter 210.
106	17	things: *Ibid.*, letter 208.
106	23	suffering: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
106	30	this: MS 12738, fos. 401, 386.
106	32	truth: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 33, fo. 78 *v*: MS 12738, fo. 386.
107	2	Chapter: Constitutions of 1462, pt. III, *De Contumacibus.*
107	7	man: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 243.
107	15	in particular: *Ibid.*, letter 224.

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107	21	manage it: *Ibid.*, letter 243
107	27	short time: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 30.
107	32	Santa María: MS 19407, fo. 145; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 33, fo. 78.
107	36	discipline: MS 12738, fo. 402; MS 19407, fo. 145.
107	38	merit: MS 12738, fo. 823, cf. MS 13460, fo. 78.
107	41	rags: MS 12738, fo. 823.
108	3	so doing: MS 8568, fo. 544.
108	7	prison: MS 12738, fo. 1003.
108	11	*Night*: MS 8568, fo. 544; MS 12738, fos. 22, 835, 1003.
108	27	punishment: Constitutions, pt. III, ch. 33.
109	6	in particular: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 237.
109	8	issue: *Ibid.*, letter 242.
109	13	withdrawn: Silverio, *Historia* . . . , bk. IV, ch. 6, p. 213.
109	20	worth while: *Letters*, vol. II, letters 239, 240.
109	25	lose heart: MS 12738, fo. 920; cf. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 33, fo. 78.
109	30	of him: MS 12738, fos. 20, 22; MS 8568, fo. 546.
110	6	yards: MS 8568, fo. 546.
110	10	locked: MS 19407, fo. 146; MS 8568, fo. 546.
110	17	inside: MS 8568, fo. 546.
110	19	consisted: *Ibid.*
110	29	upwards: *Ibid.*
110	37	many years: MS 19478, fo. 146; MS 2711, fo. 211 *v*; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 34, fo. 80, *v*.
111	16	behind him: MS 12738, fo. 138.
111	21	complaint: MS 19407, fo. 146.
111	25	understand: MS 12738, fos. 30, 26, 561, 642; MS 2711, fo. 262 *v*.
111	27	will: MS 8568, fo. 545.
111	30	mind: *Ibid.*, MS 12738, fo. 22.
111	40	went away: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. II, ch. 9.
112	8	corridor: MS 12738, fo. 20.
112	24	handrail: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 35, fo. 81; MS 19407, fo. 145.
112	34	balcony: MS 8568, fo. 546; MS 19407, fo. 146.
112	37	blanket: MS 8568, fo. 546; MS 12738, fos. 20, 810, 22; MS 19407, fo. 146.
113	3	Tagus: MS 19407, fo. 146; MS 8568, fo. 546.
113	5	descent: MS 8568, fo. 546.
113	11	Conception nuns: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 35, fo. 81 *v*; MS 12738, fo. 20.
113	14	spoken to him: MS 8568, fo. 546.
113	15	death: MS 12738, fos. 20, 809; MS 8568, fo. 546.
113	19	kill him: MS 12738, fos. 810, 20, 24; MS 8568, fo. 546.
113	22	him. MS 12738, fos. 835, 20, 22; MS 8568, fo. 546.
113	27	on top: MS 8568, fo. 546; MS 13738, fo. 20.
113	39	open: MS 12738, fos. 20–1; MS 8568, fo. 547.
113	41	Zocodover: MS 12738, fo. 919.
114	3	sight: MS 12738, fos. 21, 919.
114	19	go away: MS 8568, fo. 547.
114	22	morning: MS 12738, fos. 22, 810, 919.

page *line*

114 25 eight o'clock: MS 12738, fo. 919.
114 27 his way: MS 8568, fo. 547.
114 30 opened it: *Ibid.*, fo. 548.
114 33 prioress: MS 12738, fo. 386.
114 37 of him: MS 12738, fos. 386, 810, 819, 835.
115 2 behind him: MS 12738, fos. 386, 401, 810; cf. MS 8568, fo. 470.
115 6 ebbing away: MS 12738, fos. 401, 386, 828, 819, 24, 835, 823; MS 8568, fo. 470.
115 9 San Jerónimo: MS 12738, fos. 823–4; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 35, fo. 82.
115 16 she answered: MS 12738, fos. 823, 920.
115 18 anything: MS 12738, fo. 920.
115 20 Discalced nuns: MS 12738, fos. 817, 823.
115 22 del Campo: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 36, fo. 86; Velasco, *Vida, de Francisco de Yepes*, bk. II, ch. 2.
115 28 friar: MS 19407, fo. 146.
115 33 midday: MS 12738, fo. 387.
115 37 cinnamon: MS 12738, fos. 823–5, 387.
115 40 door: MS 12738, fo. 387.
116 22 down: *Ibid.*, fo. 835.
116 23 Joy: *Ibid.*, fo. 824.
116 34 façade: *Ibid.*, fos. 387, 401, 817.

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118 8 Draconian: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 304.
118 27 were present: Cf. Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma*, . . . vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 31, p. 662 on the one hand and on the other, St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. II, letter 253.
119 5 confirm this: *Reforma* . . . vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 31, p. 663.
119 18 after him: MS 12738, fos. 387, 24.
119 23 Almodóvar: Pero Juan Villuga, *Repertorio de todos los caminos de España*, Medina, 1546, itinerary from Castile to Seville, via Toledo.
120 14 him: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 247. Although P. Silverio thought this letter must have been written at the end of September, it would seem that it should be dated early October, for Fray John did not reach Almodóvar until then. The letter refers to him as actually there.
120 18 Almodóvar: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 36, fo. 85.
121 16 accordingly done: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 36, fo. 85.
121 20 business: MS 12738, fo. 418.
121 35 Reform: Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 31 p. 664.
122 4 month: *Ibid.*
122 14 contradict him: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 253.
122 36 quickly: *Ibid.*

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123	12	calced: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 36, fo. 85 *v.*
123	15	Reform: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 32, p. 665.
123	22	persons: *Ibid.*, ch. 33, p. 668.
124	12	accompanied him: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 36, fo. 85, *v.*
124	18	Sierra Morena: MS 12738, fo. 144; cf. MS 13460, *ibid.*
124	40	about him: MS 12738, fos. 817, 24, 386, 402; MS 13460, *ibid.*
125	20	speak: MS 12738, fo. 418; MS 12944 (132).
126	26	soul: MS 12944 (132).
126	36	years later: *Ibid.*
127	1	souls: MS 12944 (132).
127	3	heart: See *Works*, letters 5 and 6.
127	28	vine: MS 7003.
127	29	cherry trees: *Ibid.*, MS 8568, fo. 310.
127	30	fishing: MS 7003.
128	7	penance: MS 12738, fo. 218 — cf. MS 8568, fo. 309.
128	18	whole year: MS 12738, fo. 217; *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. 3, ch. 53 and 55, pp. 562, 572.
128	25	with him: MS 8568, fo. 309.
128	27	hurdle: MS 12738, fo. 137.
128	29	bare board: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 201.
128	32	dish of herbs: MS 8568, fo. 310.
128	36	friars: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 120; MS 8568, fo. 310.
129	24	for the friars: MS 8568, fo. 310; from another account (MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 197), we learn that apart from bread and flour, the provisions were fish, eggs and other things.
130	15	crag: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 37, fo. 86 *v.*
130	18	vintage: MS 8568, fo. 310; Gracián, *Peregrinación de Anastasio*, dial. 13, p. 193.
130	19	figs: MS 7003.
130	27	crime: MS 8568, fo. 310.
131	6	to eat: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fos. 200 *v*–201.
131	8	tasks: *Ibid.*, fos. 201–2.
131	14	point: MS 13482, F.N. 58 and 24 — cf. MS 8568, fo. 313.
131	28	cell: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 201.
131	30	friars: *Ibid.*, fos. 200 *v*–201.
132	1	happened: *Ibid.*, fo. 198.
132	5	Majesty: *Ibid.*, fos. 197–8. The '38 years ago' suggested in 1627 is clearly a mistake; in 1589 Fray John was in Segovia.
132	36	arises: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 261.
133	6	Beas: MS 12738, fo. 417.
133	9	ragged: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 201.
133	27	Sunday: MS 12738, fo. 417.
133	29	half an hour: *Letters*, vol. II, letter 173.
133	34	exaggerating: MS 12738, fo. 420.
133	37	penitents: *Ibid.*, fos. 401, 420, 441, 175, 449.
133	39	equally: MS 12944 (132).
134	2	conversation: Cf. MS 8568, fo. 134.

page *line*

134 4 his words: MS 12738, fos. 420, 441, 458.
134 6 delighted them: *Ibid.*, fo. 19.
134 24 depths?: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 37, fo. 87 *v.*
134 40 pomegranates: MS 12738, fo. 417.
135 3 thick: *Ibid.*, fo. 175.
135 4 did this: MS 12944 (132).
135 18 Jesus Christ: *Ibid.*
136 14 without it: *Ibid.*
136 23 preserved: MS 12738, fos. 441, 449.
136 26 breviary: MS 12944 (132).
136 39 Magdalene: It is preserved in MS 6296.
138 6 Canticle: MS 12944 (132).
138 7 copies: *Ibid.*
138 12 them: *Ibid.*
138 14 church: *Ibid.*
138 16 cells: MS 12738, fo. 19.
138 16 nuns' garden: MS 12944 (132).
138 18 did: MS 12738, fo. 19; MS 12944 (132).
138 37 come of it: MS 12738, fo. 417; cf. MS 8568, fo. 467.
139 3 Discalced fathers: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 41, fos. 94–7.
139 6 as he had come: MS 12738, fo. 417.
139 16 books: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 201.
139 33 fetch him: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 39, fo. 90 *v.*
139 37 cured: MS 12738, fo. 145.
140 4 way: *Ibid.*, fo. 231.

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141 8 America: Fernando de Cózar, *Noticias y Documentos para la historia de Baeza*, 1884, p. 473 n.
141 14 parishes: *Ibid.*, p. 433.
141 19 Andalusia: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 42, fo. 98.
141 31 and lay: MS 12944 (132).
142 2 four hundred: MS 12738, fo. 198.
142 8 friars: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 108; MS 12738, fo. 13.
142 10 things: MS 12944 (132).
142 14 words: *Ibid.*
142 18 Baeza: MS 12738, fo. 218.
142 19 stick: *Ibid.*
142 21 service: MS 12944 (132).
142 31 window: MS 12738, fo. 218.
142 34 habit: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 63.
142 37 announce: *Ibid.*, fo. 108.
142 41 celebrated: *Ibid.*
143 4 friars: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 41, p. 695.
143 9 'the saint': *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

page *line*

143 13 of the Cross: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 108.
143 24 Marcelo: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 40, fo. 93 *v*; *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 41, p. 695.
143 33 ground: MS 12738, fo. 218 — cf. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 49, fo. 93 *v*.
144 15 there: MS 12738, fo. 13.
144 23 University: *Ibid.*, fo. 15.
144 33 of quiet: *Ibid.*, fo. 1415.
144 36 college: Cózar, *op. cit.*, p. 543.
144 37 university: *Libro de Matrículas*, fo. 3.
145 15 register: *Ibid.*, fo. 3 ff.
145 17 Rector: *Ibid.*, fo. 16.
145 21 habit: MS 12738, fo. 15.
145 26 altar: *Ibid.*, fo. 218.
145 27 saints: *Ibid.*, fo. 15.
145 32 with him: *Ibid.*, fo. 146.
145 38 he is: *Ibid.*, fo. 218.
146 4 Spirit: *Ibid.*, fo. 15.
146 5 by him: *Ibid.*, fo. 146.
146 16 Salamanca: *Ibid.*, fo. 885.
146 17 Granada: MS Vaticano, proc. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 118.
146 20 El Calvario, *Ibid.*, proc. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 13 *v*.
146 21 San Hilario: MS 12738, fo. 1415; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 42, fo. 92.
146 41 mortifications: MS Vaticano, proc. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 15.
147 13 learned: MS 12738, fo. 645.
147 18 decorated: *Ibid.*, fos. 219, 145.
147 26 refectory: *Ibid.*, fo. 162.
147 33 offering: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 9; MS 8568, fos. 119–29.
148 7 angel: MS 12738, fo. 145.
148 15 at once: MS 8568, fos. 120–1; MS 12738, fo. 220.
148 29 affection: MS 8568, fo. 120.
149 6 ate: MS 12738, fo. 1415.
149 11 patient: *Ibid.*, fo. 220.
149 29 in bed: *Ibid.*, fo. 133; cf. Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. IV, ch. 12, p. 440.
149 36 sickness: MS 12738, fo. 133.
150 13 Lord: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
150 22 of the Order: *Ibid.*, fo. 121; cf. MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 44, fo. 103; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 9.
150 39 he said: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 44, fo. 103.
151 1 noticed him: MS 12738, fo. 198.
151 13 her eyes: Velasco, *Vida de Francisco de Yepes*, bk. I, ch. 8, pp. 35-36.
151 16 after her: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 28. There are entries in the nuns' account book for 1570 and 1571, relating to various things bought for Catalina Álvarez.

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152	5	religious observance: Gracián, *Peregrinación de Anastasio*, dial. 13, p. 191.
152	12	neighbourhood: Granada, *Vida del P. Maestro Juan de Ávila*, pt. III, ch. 3, p. 82 (Madrid, 1894); Gracián, *op. et loc. cit.*
152	26	convent: Gracián, *ibid.*
152	31	came: MS 12738, fo. 220.
153	11	decorated: *Ibid.*
153	17	interest: *Ibid.*, and fo. 136
153	33	them: Gracián, *Peregrinación de Anastasio*, dial. 13, p. 191.
153	41	saint: MS 12738, fo. 133; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 42, fos. 92 and 102.
154	4	surname: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 108; MS 12738, fo. 125.
154	6	devil: *Ibid.*, fo. 108.
154	22	liberty: MS 12738, fo. 194.
154	27	needed: *Ibid.*, fo. 125.
154	40	deeply: *Ibid.*, fos. 194 and 127.
155	7	'beata': MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 107 *v.*
155	10	penitents: *Ibid.*, She was a witness at the canonization process.
155	11	sixteen: She was 64 in 1627 when she gave evidence at the canonization process (MS 12738, fo. 184 ff.).
155	12	mind: MS 12738, fo. 184.
155	16	Baeza: *Ibid.*
155	28	said it: *Ibid.*, fo. 185.
155	32	imperfection: *Ibid.*, fo. 184.
155	38	first: *Ibid.*, fo. 185.
156	8	soul: *Ibid.*
156	14	friars: *Ibid.*
156	21	God: *Ibid.*
156	25	director: MS 12738, fo. 190.
157	7	demanded: *Ibid.*, fo. 137; cf. Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, Bk. IV, ch. 14, p. 456; *Reforma*, vol. IV, bk. xvi, ch. 5, p. 331.
157	15	Preachers: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 44, fo. 103; Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. iv, ch. 13, p. 457.
157	18	illuminism: Gracián, *op. cit.*, dial. 13, p. 191.
158	16	relapsed: *Ibid.*, pp. 191–2.
159	17	church: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 43, fo. 101 *v.*
159	40	longer: MS 12738, fo. 417.
160	5	him: MS 12944 (132).
160	6	Vice-Rector: *Ibid.*
160	11	sticks: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 44, fo. 102.
160	14	on foot: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 15.
160	19	of this: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 44, fo. 102
160	21	the way: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 15.

page *line*

160 32 manner: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 8.
161 2 pain: MS 12738, fo. 641.
161 15 quietly trotted off: *Ibid.*, and fos. 118–19.
161 32 our Lord: *Ibid.*
161 35 Quadalquivir: *Ibid.*
162 2 consciences: *Ibid.*, fo. 419.
162 25 of the Cross: *Obras*, letter 5.
162 33 preacher: MS 12738, fo. 1415.
163 13 another: MS 12944 (132).
164 3 confessions: MS 12738, fos. 400 and 385.
164 13 abstained: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 197 *v* and II, fo. 124: cf. MS 8568, fos. 170–1.
164 17 wounds: MS 12738, fo. 302.
164 21 house: *Ibid.*, fos. 997 and 565.
164 25 spirit: *Letters*, letter 300.
164 31 our Lord: *Ibid.*, letter 301.
164 36 Toledo: MS 12738, fo. 997.
165 9 miracles: MS 19404, fo. 223; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 42, fo. 99 *v*.
165 11 Baeza: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 43, fo. 100.
165 24 farther on: MS 12738, fo. 145.
165 27 work it: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 43, fo. 100.
166 15 week: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
166 21 birds: María de San José, *Libro de las Recreaciones*, recr. 9, p. 99 (ed. Burgos, 1913).
166 39 light: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 43, fo. 100.
167 5 monastery: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
167 12 provisions: *Ibid.*
167 21 paper: MS 12738, fo. 145.

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169 2 gladness: Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. V, ch. 8, p. 747.
169 12 the Lord: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. II, letter 328.
169 15 this life: St Teresa, *Foundations*, ch. 29.
169 20 life: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
169 30 hearing: *Reforma*, bk. IV, vol. I, ch. 23, p. 643.
170 13 letter: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. II, letter 195.
170 25 Reform: *Ibid.*, letters 238–40.
170 30 Visitor: *Ibid.*, letter 240.
171 3 evil doctrines: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 30, p. 661.
171 8 Calced fathers: *Ibid.*
171 10 Discalced: *Ibid.*, ch. 36, p. 675.
172 5 Madre Teresa: *Ibid.*, ch. 37, p. 678.
172 30 itself: St Teresa, *Works*, vol. IV, pp. 337–8 (ed. P. Silverio). The document is given in full. Cf. *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. IV, ch. 38, p. 682.

page	line	
173	9	5 August: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 1.
174	5	mentioned: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. V, ch. 9, pp. 751–2.
174	33	on the 3rd: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 752.
175	5	maravedís: Archivo Histórico Nacional, leg. 1063, III, 789: *Relación manuscrita del P. Gracián.*
175	10	present: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. V, ch. 9, p. 753.
175	22	the morning: Archivo Histórico Nacional, leg. 1063, III, 78: *Relación del P. Gracián.*
175	29	de Dios: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. V, ch. 9, p. 754.
175	32	election: Archivo Histórico. . . . *Relac. del P. Gracián.*
176	29	to enter: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
177	6	among them: The document in which these Constitutions were accepted was found with the Carmelite friars of Las Palmas (Castellón), with, among the other signatures, the autograph of St John of the Cross (cf. P. Gerardo, *Autografos del Místico Doctor*, p. xv).— *Editor's note.*
177	18	of the Cross: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. V, ch. 10, p. 755.
177	41	proceedings: Archivo Histórico . . . *Rel. del P. Gracián; Reforma*, *ibid.*, p. 756.
178	45	San Alberto . . . : St John of the Cross, *Works*, ed. P. Gerardo, vol. III, p. 122; St Teresa, *Works*, ed. P. Silverio, vol. VI, p. 281.
179	13	foundation: *Relac. de la madre Ana de Jesús*, published in Brussels with the *Libro de las Fundaciones*, in 1610 (p. 351) — cf. Silverio, *Works* . . . vol. VI, p. 391 ff.
179	25	personally: *Ibid.*, p. 393.
179	39	eighty-one: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 2, fo. 3 *v.*
180	4	the nuns: *Relación de Ana de Jesús*, p. 392.
180	11	the Order: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. III, letter 390.
180	15	Granada: *Relac. de Ana de Jesús*, p. 392.
180	25	de la Jara: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. III, letter 393.
180	27	initial stages: *Relac. de Ana de Jesús*, p. 393.
180	32	community: MS 5807, fo. 238.
180	41	reverence: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. III, letter 393.
181	2	sad: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
181	4	pleased: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
181	10	Mother Foundress: *Ibid.*, letter 390.
181	21	success: *Relac. de Ana de Jesús.* p. 393.
181	25	set out: *Ibid.*, pp. 393–4.
181	40	was good: *Ibid.*, p. 394.
182	14	'most terrible': *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
182	25	guarantee: MS 5807, fo. 239 *v.*
182	36	morning: *Ibid.*, Madre Ana de Jesús (p. 395) says they arrived at one.
183	6	epistle: *Ibid.*
183	8	nuns: *Relac. de Ana de Jesús*, pp. 395–6.
183	13	monastery: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 21.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 14

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184 3 canyon: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 12.
184 9 were put: Gracián, *Peregrinación de Anastasio*, dial. 13, p. 190 (ed. Burgos).
184 14 barren: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 4, p. 413.
185 1 Vicar: *Libro de Becerro de Granada*, fo. 180.
185 4 1576: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 7, p. 421.
185 6 Superior: *Libro de Becerro*, fo. 180.
185 10 crucifixes: Gracián, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*
185 15 floor: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 7, p. 427.
185 17 *vega: Libro de Becerro*, fo. 180, *v.*
185 20 work: MS 7003, fo. 171.
185 26 there: 1 June 1581. The foundation was made in the Hospital de San Lazaro, on the left bank of the Tormes, outside Salamanca itself. The college was destroyed by a flood on 14 January 1507, and the foundation transferred to a site inside the city, now the parish of our Lady of Carmel, in May of the same year.
185 32 new office: Constitutions, pt. V, ch. 12.
185 33 Granada: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 3.
185 38 religious: MS 12738, fo. 1437.
186 2 the birds: *Ibid.*, fo. 1443; *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. II, ch. 37.
186 3 Superior: MS 12738, fo. 987.
186 5 priest: *Ibid.*, fo. 1443.
186 7 El Calvario: *Ibid.*, fo. 639.
186 7 San Ángelo: MS 8568, fo. 394–5.
186 9 the nuns: MS 12738, fo. 1451.
186 10 El Calvario: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 61.
186 11 de Dios: *Ibid.*, proc. inform. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 14.
186 11 Francisco: *Ibid.*, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 119.
186 14 La Peñuela: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 4, p. 413.
186 19 Ubeda: MS 12738, fo. 1456; *ibid.*, fo. 1443.
186 21 nine years: *Ibid.*, fo. 1443.
186 22 two years: *Ibid.*, fo. 1436.
186 25 their names: *Ibid.*, fos. 1435–6.
186 29 cures: *Ibid.*, fos. 140, 956.
186 31 Andujar: *Ibid.*, fos. 1436–7.
186 33 sanctity: *Ibid.*, fo. 1443 — his life was written by P. Nicolás de San José.
186 35 Madrid: *Ibid.*, fo. 1436.
186 38 La Peñuela: *Ibid.*, fo. 1403.
186 40 Cataluña: *Ibid.*, fos. 1436–7.
186 41 Manchuela: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
187 1 Ubeda: MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 121.
187 4 ministry: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fos. 108, 121.
187 6 raptures: *Ibid.*, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 63.

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187	7	predictions . . . : *Ibid.*, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 278.
187	9	of them: MS 12738, fo. 1451 ff. This letter is undated, but other letters from P. Alonso, like this one, to P. Jerónimo de San José, are dated Seville, 1630.
189	17	to him: *Ibid.*, fo. 1443.
189	21	admonished him: *Ibid. ibid.*
189	31	wounds: *Ibid., ibid.*
189	35	spirit: *Ibid.*, fo. 1454.
190	13	times: *Ibid.*, fo. 1431.
190	27	in God: MS 12738, fos. 560–1, fo. 664; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 5; *ibid.*, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 276 *v* (there is a slight discrepancy between the MSS of Jaén and Ubeda as to the actual coins received).
192	25	house: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 125.
192	27	breviary: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 278; *ibid.*, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 62.
192	30	*terram*?: *Ibid.*, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13.
192	36	stars: *Ibid.*, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 123.
192	39	subjects: MS 12738, fo. 36.
192	41	details: *Ibid.*, fo. 217.
193	9	careless?: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 43, fo. 100 *v*.
193	14	inspection: MS 8568, fo. 395.
193	16	said: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 61.
193	17	correction: MS 8568, fo. 304; MS 12738, fo. 217.
193	19	amend: MS 12738, fo. 125, 132, 152 *v*.
193	24	saw them: *Ibid.*, fo. 144; MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 43, fo. 100 *v*.
193	27	committed: MS 12738, fo. 132.
193	30	them all: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 43, fo. 100 *v*.
193	36	loved him: MS 12738, fo. 125.
194	6	repentant: *Ibid.*, fos. 639, 709.
194	9	charity: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 11.
194	21	may be: MS 12738, fo. 144.
194	21	valour: *Ibid.*, fo. 885.
194	23	whatsoever: *Ibid.*, fo. 217.
194	28	from him: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 124.
195	2	bad example: *Ibid.*
195	7	concerned: MS 12738, fo. 449.
195	17	their eyes: MS 8568, fo. 395.
195	23	high level: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 51.
195	27	attention: MS 8568, fo. 114.
195	35	Superior: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 8.
195	37	character: MS 8568, fo. 121.
195	39	their food: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 11.
195	41	teaching: *Ibid.*, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 64.
196	3	open air: MS 8568, fo. 118.
196	6	in it: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 5.
196	14	his heart: *Ibid.*

page	*line*	
196	18	afternoon: MS 12738, fos. 288, 1403; MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 276 *v*, cf. MS 8568, fo. 114.
196	20	rosemary: MS 12738, fo. 1041.
196	24	fishes: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 64.
196	33	many times: *Ibid.*, fo. 63.
196	38	landscape: *Ibid.*, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 277; *ibid.*, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 126.
196	41	of them: MS 8568, fo. 119 — cf. MS 12738, fo. 639.
196	41	them gay: *Ibid.*, fo. 116.
197	4	Psalms: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 276 *v*.
197	14	dialogue: MS 8568, fo. 116.
197	16	reply: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 119.
197	25	conversation: *Ibid.*, de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 8.
197	35	Blessed Virgin: *Ibid.*, fo. 7 *v*.
197	36	prepared: *Ibid.*, fo. 13.
197	41	from it: *Ibid.*, de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 126.
198	3	sardines: *Ibid.*, de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 12; de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 62.
198	22	catastrophe: MS 8568, fo. 116.
198	27	joy: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 14 *v*.
198	33	him for: *Ibid.*, de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 122.
198	34	sick: MS 12738, fo. 125.
199	11	very well: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. V, ch. 3, pp. 481–2.
199	28	childishness: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 6.
200	11	to pass: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 63.
200	13	friars: MS 12738, fo. 125.
200	14	judgement: *Ibid.*, fo. 885.
200	15	self-control: *Ibid.*, fo. 144.
200	17	latrines: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fos. 63, 64.
200	18	food: *Ibid.*, fo. 62.
200	23	face: *Ibid.*, fo. 64.
200	24	in him: MS 12738, fos. 32, 987.
200	30	Henares: MS 2711, fo. 204.
200	32	Granada: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 7, fo. 122; MS 2711, fo. 251.
200	35	Constitutions: Constitutions, pt. 5, ch. 4.
200	39	to him: MS 12738, fo. 225.
200	41	admonition: cf. chapter 16 of the present work.
201	10	quite right: MS 12738, fo. 225.
201	15	were: *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VI, ch. 18, p. 51.
201	17	re-elections: MS 2711, fo. 251.
201	31	infidel: *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VI, ch. 18, p. 51.
201	36	leave: P. Fr. Belchior de S. Anna, *Chronica de Carmelitas Descalzos particular do reyno de Portugal e Provincia de San Felippe* (Lisbon, 1657), vol. I, bk. I, ch. 21, p. 106.
201	36	leave: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
202	11	vicissitudes: *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VI, ch. 27.
202	22	activity: *Ibid.*, ch. 18, p. 55 ff.
202	38	father: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 61; MS 12738, fo. 856.

page	*line*	
202	39	rule: *Ibid.*, de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 277.
203	4	jubilee: MS 12738, fo. 836.
203	5	them: *Ibid.* fo. 127.
203	13	went: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 8.
203	15	Evangelista: *Ibid.*, de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 16.
203	20	blessed: MS 19404, fo. 192 *v.*

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 15

204	27	do harm: St John of the Cross, *Works*, *Spiritual Canticle*, notes 2, 3 to Cant. 29.
205	13	any event: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 5.
205	39	visits: MS 12738, fo. 639; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 9; cf. MS 8568, fo. 395.
206	3	preachers: *Ascent*, book III, ch. 45.
206	11	Granada: MS Vaticano, proc. inf. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 12.
206	17	persons: MS 12738, fo. 288.
206	27	Christ: *Ibid.*, fo. 1005.
206	30	*Love: Living Flame*, prologue.
206	32	Baeza: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 16.
206	34	Lord: *Works*, letter 18 — cf. MS 8568, fo. 125.
207	4	prior: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13.
207	6	monastery: *Ibid.*, de Granada, sig. 47, fo. 16.
209	7	tribunal: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
209	13	neighbours: *Ibid.*, de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 277.
209	23	stimulus: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
209	29	obtained: *Ibid.*, de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 12.
209	30	nettles, *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
209	35	usual: *Ibid.*, fo. 21.
210	9	apex: *Ibid.*, de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 119.
210	18	through: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
210	19	house: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
211	4	Order: *Reforma*, vol. I, bk. III, ch. 9.
211	15	world: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. I, p. 269.
211	16	met him: MS 12738, fo. 178.
211	21	Superior: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13; MS 8568, fo. 289.
211	30	weaver: MS Vaticano, proc. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13.
211	33	Cross: MS 12738, fo. 36.
211	39	painted: *Ibid.*, fo. 987.
211	39	this: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 16.
212	23	established: MS 12738, fos. 45 and 158.
212	36	arrived: *Ibid.*, fo. 180.
213	5	Ribera: *Relac. de Ana de Jesús*, p. 397.
213	7	Los Mártires: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Granada, sig. 48, fo. 18.
214	8	lost?: *Ibid.*, de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 50; MS 12738, fo. 83 — cf *Reforma*, bk. lxxi, ch. 8, pp. 579–80.

page	*line*	
214	10	Cruz: MS 12738, fo. 178.
214	22	case: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 22.
214	28	experienced: MS 12738, fo. 181.
214	35	to him: *Ibid.*, fos. 176-8.
214	37	near him: *Ibid.*, fo. 176.
214	41	ignorant: *Ibid.*, fo. 178.
215	6	Cross: *Ibid.*, fo. 182.
215	9	two words: *Ibid.*, fo. 178.
215	11	wait: *Ibid.*, fo. 179.
215	17	St Paul: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
215	23	feeling: MS 13460, bk. I, ch. 4.
215	27	books: MS 12738, fo. 180.
215	32	miseries: *Ibid.*, fo. 182.
215	40	we have!: *Ibid.*, fo. 418.
216	4	wit: *Ibid.*, fo. 178.
216	15	mutton: *Ibid.*, fo. 183.
216	20	ours: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 21.
216	27	convent: MS 8568, fo. 136.
217	2	harm!: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 165.
217	5	nuns: *Ibid.*, de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 389.
217	8	cook: *Ibid.*, de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 8.
217	12	talked: MS 12738, fo. 168.
217	15	concepts: *Ibid.*, fo. 176.
217	19	heaven: *Ibid.*, fos. 168, 178, 179.
217	32	miraculous: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 22; MS 12738, fo. 168.
217	36	Encarnación: *Ibid.*, sig. 47, fo. 22.
218	3	good: MS 12738, fo. 85.
218	21	his way: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 9; MS 12738, fo. 985.
219	12	contemplation: Cf. Cristóbal Conde y Herrera: *Granada abierta a Dios en la fundación de Santa María Egipciaca de Madres Recogidas* ... Granada, 1769); Francisco Henríquez, 1646; *Anales de Granada: Gacetilla curiosa*, for Monday, 20 August 1764.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 16

220	14	themselves: Astrain: *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, vol. II, pp. 584–5 — cf. Olmedo, *Humanistas y pedagogos españoles;* Juan Bonifacio (1538–1606) y la cultura literaria del siglo de oro (1931).
220	27	youth: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 10 — cf. ch. 3, notes 28 and 29 for Spanish text.
221	8	disappeared: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. 1, ch. 4.
221	18	fact: Andrés de la Encarnación, *Memorias historiales* (MS 13482, n. 87). Cf. Silverio, *St Teresa's Works*, vol. VI, pp. 405–8, for the text of Gracián's Constitutions.

page *line*

221 27 heaven: MS 19407, fo. 151.
221 39 contemplation: St Teresa, *Works*, ed. crit., vol. VI, p. 67.
222 6 of Jesus: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
222 7 he was: MS 12738, fo. 441.
222 33 *Cautelas; Ibid.*, *ibid.* For commentaries on this work, see P. Juan de la Asunción, *El Pastor del Carmelo* (1709) and P. Lucas de San José, *La santidad en el claustro* (1921).
222 34 *Spiritual Canticle;* MS 12738, fo. 417; MS 12944 (132).
222 35 *Ascent of Mount Carmel;* Cf. chapter 10 of this work.
223 9 *Spiritual Canticle;* MS 12738, fo. 1431; MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 280 — cf. Prologue to the *Spiritual Canticle.*
223 11 Baeza: MS 12944 (132).
223 13 *Living Flame of Love;* MS 12738, fo. 1431.
223 15 knees: *Ibid.*, fos. 913–14; MS 13482, fo. B, 22.
224 7 Jaén: Cf. MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 22.
224 11 composed: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 280.
224 16 the book: MS 12738, fo. 127.
224 24 has to have: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 22.
224 35 of faith: *Ibid.*, de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 60. It should be noted that neither of the critical editions of the saint's works have mentioned this evidence.
225 20 manuscripts: MS 12738, fo. 1431.
225 30 Evangelista: MS 8568, fo. 445.
225 32 century: Sainz Rodríguez, *Introducción a la historia de la literatura en España*, ch. 2, p. 33.
226 11 *Sanctorum:* MS 12738, fo. 1431.
226 14 knowledge: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 7.
226 19 its cross: *Ibid.*, de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 279.
226 22 *Contra haereses:* MS 12738, fo. 559 *v.*
226 24 *Sanctorum: Ibid.*, fo. 982.
226 26 library: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 7; MS 8568, fo. 115.
226 38 it: *Ibid.*, sig. 47, fo. 7.
227 19 Areopagite: *Ascent*, bk. II, ch. 8, n. 6; *Dark Night*, bk. II, ch. 5, n. 3: *Spiritual Canticle*, canc. 14, v. 5, n. 16; *Living Flame*, canc. 3, v. 3, n. 49.
227 19 St Augustine: He quotes the sermons *De verbis Domini* — *Dark Night*, bk. II, ch. 19, n. 4; the *Confessions* — *Spiritual Canticle*, canc. 4 and 5, n. 1 and 1, and the *Soliloquies*, in the sixteenth century attributed to St Augustine — *Spiritual Canticle*, canc. 1, v. 1, n. 6; *Dark Night*, bk. I, ch. 12, n. 5; *Ascent*, bk. I, ch. 5, n. 1.
227 19 St Gregory: *Ascent*, bk. III, ch. 31, n. 31; *Night*, bk. II, ch. 20, n. 4.
227 19 St Thomas: *Dark Night*, bk. II, ch. 18, n. 5; *Ascent*, bk. II, ch. 24, n. 1.
227 20 St Bernard: *Dark Night*, bk. II, ch. 18, n. 5.
227 20 Boethius: *Ascent*, bk. II, ch. 21, n. 8; bk. III, ch. 16, n. 6.
227 20 Boscán: *Living Flame*, note preceding first strophe — ed. P. Gerardo, p. 386.

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227	20	Teresa: *Spiritual Canticle*, canc. 13, v. 2, n. 7.
227	21	Ruysbroeck: See quotations in P. Crisógono's study, *San Juan de la Cruz, su obra científica y su obra literaria*, vol. I, pp. 26–52.
227	21	*cancioneros;* Dámaso Alonso, *La poesía de San Juan de la Cruz:* Crisógono, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–34.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 17

228	4	Chapter: *Chronica* (Portuguesa), vol. I, bk. I, ch. 38, p. 202.
228	31	necessary: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 10, fo. 130, cf. *Chronica, loc. cit.*
229	2	shore: *Ibid.*, fo. 123 *v°*.
229	26	do so: *Ibid.*, ch. 10, fo. 130.
229	29	see her: *Ibid.*, *v.*
229	36	nun: MS 12738, fo. 1030.
229	40	convent: MS 8568, fos. 419–20.
230	4	away: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 5; MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 10, fo. 130, cf. fo. 127.
230	8	that: MS 12738, fo. 855.
230	13	discredit her: *Ibid.*, fo. 883.
230	20	ground: MS 12944 (132).
230	22	Santo: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 128.
230	23	nuns: MS 12944 (132).
230	30	journey: *Ibid.*
230	41	February: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 10, fo. 130.
231	7	place: MS 12944 (132).
231	16	the way: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 62.
231	21	Pastrana: *Ibid.*, de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 122. P. Alonso, who gives details of the correction, places this journey later, when Fray John came to Caravaca in March 1587 (MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 15, fo. 141). P. Silverio follows him, without citing these other original documents (*Historia de la Reforma*, vol. V, ch. 23, pp. 551–2).
231	38	sins: *Ibid.*, de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 62.
232	16	Andalusia: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 10, fo. 131.
232	33	observance': *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VII, ch. 1, p. 175.
232	36	by all: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 10, fo. 131.
233	13	Reform: *Ibid.*, and fo. 131 *v.*
233	29	Bible: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 8 — cf. MS 8568, fo. 119; MS 12738, fo. 641.
233	29	our Lady: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 133.
233	30	Solomon: MS 12738, fo. 1432.
233	36	falling: *Ibid.*, fo. 305.
234	6	too: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 8.
234	12	made him: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 135.
234	14	low price: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 5; MS 8568, fo. 114.

page *line*

234 21 always: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 5; MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 11, fo. 132.
234 32 provisions: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 306.
235 4 Redeemer: *Ibid.*, fo. 312.
235 27 recollection: *Ibid.*, fo. 315 *v.*
235 31 him: MS 12738, fo. 8.
236 7 miracle: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 321.
236 32 Jaén: *Ibid.*, fo. 304 *v.*
237 5 of me: MS 12738, fos. 912–13.
237 29 to him: *Ibid.*, fo. 1047.
237 41 later: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Málaga — cf. MS 13460, bk II, ch. 13, fo. 136 *v.*
238 12 afterwards: St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 2.
238 13 city: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
238 31 solemnity: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
238 35 Guadalquivir: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
238 36 24 June: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
239 11 1586: MS 13460, bk II, ch. 11, fo. 132 *v.* Cf. *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VI, ch. 43.
239 22 came out: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 318. Although some authorities have thought that it was during this convalescence that he wrote a book about the images of Guadalcázar, we shall later find an eye-witness declaring that he wrote it five years later when in La Peñuela.
239 37 novices: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 309.
240 4 Seville: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 125.
240 11 journey: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 309.
240 38 protected him: *Ibid.*, fo. 303.
241 1 them: *Ibid.*, fo. 307.
241 12 help them: MS 12738, fo. 313.
241 26 friend: *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VII, ch. 46, p. 331.
241 32 present: MS 13482, N.n. 131, fo. 208.
241 39 4 September: *Ibid.*, N.n. 134, fo. 208 *v.*
242 15 agreed: *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VII, ch. 46, p. 339.
242 16 decided upon: MS 13482, fo. 208 *v.*
242 20 ordering it: *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VII, ch. 46, p. 339.
242 29 charge: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. V, ch. 15, p. 587.
242 34 ended: MS 13482, N.n. 134, fo. 308 *v.*
243 24 things: MS 8568, fo. 458.
243 27 monastery: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Alcaudete, sig. 47, fo. 125.
243 38 preached: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 14, fo. 138; *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VII, ch. 48.
244 4 Vicar-Provincial: *Ibid.*, p. 301.
245 13 of the town: MS 12738, fo. 1004 — cf. fo. 305.
245 27 knew him: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 15, fo. 140.
245 28 Bujalance: Juan Begué: *Las cosas de mi pueblo*, p. IX (Alicante, 1891).
245 34 time too: *Ibid.*, p. XV.
245 36 and cold: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 143.

page *line*

246 2 church: Juan Begué, *op. cit.*, p. XV.
246 6 at once: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 143.
246 19 from them: St John of the Cross, *Works*, vol. IV, p. 302.
246 22 Ubeda: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, pp. 302–3.
246 41 left: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 15, fo. 141 *v.*
247 6 spread out: *Ibid.*, fo. 142 *v.*
247 10 customary: MS 8568, fo. 119. — *Editor's note.*
247 11 office: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 15, fo. 142 *v.*

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 18

250 1 March 1581: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. III, letter 358.
250 21 Segovia: MS 12738 fo. 885 *v.*
251 28 established: Archives of Segovia, MS de los prelados, fo. 1.
251 30 house: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 13.
251 38 prior: Archives of Segovia, MS de los prelados, fo. 1.
252 4 Council: Espicilegio, p. 34.
252 20 together: Archives of the Segovia Carmelites, *Libro de Becerro.*
252 29 oak-tree: MS 12738, fo. 847.
252 37 men: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 17. P. Evangelista was in Segovia from October 1589 until April 1590, for his signature appears in the expenses book.
253 7 day's pay: MS 12738, fo. 879.
253 9 of Segovia: Archives of Segovia: MS of the purchase of the 'site of las Peñas'.
254 15 and justice: *Ibid.*, fo. 125 *v* (unnumbered in the MS).
255 9 said to him: MS 19407, fo. 380, *v*; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 125, fo. 54; MS 8568, fo. 65.
255 15 attention: MS Vatican, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 15; MS 19407, fo. 14 *v.*
255 30 come for?: MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Segovia, fo. 36; MS 19407, fo. 44 *v*, fo. 381.
255 36 dislocated: MS 19407, fo. 380 *v*; MS 12738, fo. 861 — cf. MS Vaticano . . . de Segovia, fos. 107–8.
256 31 the Cross: St John of the Cross, *Works*, Letter 8.
257 18 the Cross: *Ibid.*, letter 12.
257 40 the Cross: *Ibid.*, letter 17.
258 31 ornament: MS 19407, fo. 181.
258 33 table: *Ibid.*, fo. 381.
258 36 there: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 19.
259 5 miraculous: MS 19407, fo. 190 — see fo. 381 for an identical account.
259 8 love: MS 12738, fo. 848.
259 27 for it: MS 19407, fo. 182 — for the feast see Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. VI, ch. 3, p. 623. The latter supposes that Fray John was in the choir during the Mass, whereas Brother Lucas says expressly that he was the celebrant.

page	*line*	
259	35	present: MS 19407, fo. 142.
259	37	all: *Ibid.*, fo. 178.
259	38	students: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
259	41	encouragement: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
260	3	and happy: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
260	7	winter: MS 12738, fo. 848.
260	11	phrase: MS 19407, fo. 181.
260	17	Vicar-General: *Ibid.*, fo. 23.
260	33	resigned: *Ibid.*, fo. 41, cf. fo. 18.
260	41	been there: *Ibid.*, fo. 23.
261	18	of God: *Ibid.*, fo. 180 — cf. MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 18.
261	26	details: *Ibid.*, fo. 61.
261	27	old church: *Ibid.*, fo. 54.
261	33	personage: *Ibid.*, fo. 111.
261	40	conversation: *Ibid.*, fo. 54.
262	3	perfumes: *Ibid.*, fo. 77.
262	17	tears: *Ibid.*, fos. 76 *v*, 77, 78.
262	22	college: *Ibid.*, fo. 78.
262	26	confessor: *Ibid.*, fo. 41.
262	28	head: *Ibid.*, fo. 42.
262	31	devil: MS 12738, fo. 933.
263	3	heaven: MS 19404, fo. 190.
263	14	happy: MS 19407, fo. 52 *v*.
263	16	friars: *Ibid.*, fo. 65 *v*.
263	17	necessities: *Ibid.*, fo. 65.
263	19	years later: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
263	34	eat it: *Ibid.*, fo. 65 ff.
264	3	accept it: *Ibid.*, fo. 55 *v*.
264	12	heaven: *Ibid.*, fo. 65 *v*.
264	25	preserving it: *Ibid.*, fo. 198 *v*.
264	29	broken: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 18.
264	37	hermit: MS 19407, fo. 7.
265	1	frequently: MS 8568, fo. 423.
265	26	toes: MS 12738, fo. 847.
265	30	in God: MS 19407, fo. 8.
265	34	attempt: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 15; cf. MS 8568, fo. 65, MS 19407, fo. 8.
265	37	speaking of: MS 19407, fo. 8 *v*.
265	38	about God: *Ibid.*, fo. 8.
265	41	of God: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
266	3	table of God: *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, bk. I, ch. 6.
266	6	give warmth: MS 19407, fo. 10 — cf. fos. 24, 45.
266	10	in virtue: MS 19407, fo. 10.
266	14	comforted: MS 8568, fo. 424.
266	15	inconveniences: MS 19407, fo. 10.
266	31	*Ascent?*: *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, bk. II.
266	34	contemplative: MS 8568, fo. 66.
266	40	half an hour: MS 19407, fo. 34.

page *line*

266 41 of her soul: *Ibid.*, fo. 12.
267 2 hand: *Ibid.*, fo. 13.
267 6 for God: *Ibid.*, fo. 24.
267 14 heaven: *Ibid.*, fo. 23.
267 21 in: *Ibid.*, fo. 45.
267 34 understand: *Ibid.*, fo. 44 *v.*
267 37 thing: MS 8568, fo. 424.
267 41 Cross: MS 12738, fo. 615.
268 6 he could: *Ibid.*, fo. 379.
268 10 five: *Ibid.*, fo. 490.
268 14 again: *Ibid.*, fo. 615; MS 8568, fo. 371.
268 27 brother: *Ibid.*, fo. 831 *v.*
268 41 deserts: MS 12738, fo. 615. Many manuscripts give this incident — MS 8568, fo. 254, fo. 263; *Ibid.*, fo. 111. MS 19404, fo. 361 *v*, fo. 328. MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 54. MS 19407, fos. 92 *v*, 65 *v*–66, 109, 124, 129 *v*. MS 12738, fos. 1024, 923.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 19

270 7 Santa Ana: MS 12738, fo. 21.
270 13 corner: *Ibid.*, fo. 844.
271 18 conclusion: Cf. B. Ignace de Ste Anna, *Anne de Jésus et les Constitutions*, p. 329.
272 3 has said: *Ibid.*, pp. 329–30.
272 24 whatsoever: *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VIII, ch. 46, pp. 558–9.
273 7 correspondingly: *Ibid.*, vol. II, bk. VIII, ch. 45, p. 558.
273 14 plans: *Anne . . . et les Constitutions*, p. 330; MS 19404, fo. 215.
273 34 ground: MS 12738, fo. 1381 — cf. MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 21.
273 37 point: *Reforma*, vol. II, bk. VIII, ch. 45, p. 558.
274 1 of it: MS 12738, fo. 1328.
274 16 Gracián: *Ibid.*, fos. 1428–9 — cf. fo 1433.
274 21 protest: MS 12738, fo. 1428.
275 8 time: St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 27.
275 24 Vicar-General: MS 19404, fo. 205.
275 27 Gracián: *Reforma, loc. cit.*
275 33 made: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. II, letter 232.
275 36 rules: *Reforma, loc. cit.*, p. 557.
275 39 wrote them: *Ibid.*, p. 558.
276 6 decisions: *Ibid., ibid.*
276 24 be sent: Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. VII, ch. 2, p. 699.
277 7 alone: MS 19404, fo. 205.
277 12 things: St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 21.
277 16 not so: Cf. MS 12738, fo. 843.
277 26 Spain: *Ibid.*, fo. 21. P. Juan Evangelista says the Consulta suspended Fray John's going to Mexico, but his own words show he was not very certain of the matter — cf. MS 12738, fo. 1428.

page *line*

277 27 Cross: St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 21.
278 20 love: *Ibid.*, letter 22 — MS 19407, fo. 14.
279 12 felt it: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 24.
279 31 way: MS 8568, fo. 297.
279 35 Supreme Court: MS 19407, fo. 10.
280 4 lasted: MS 12738, fo. 1377.
280 9 suffering: *Ibid.*, fo. 1006.
280 16 with men: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
280 21 back: *Ibid.*, fo. 616. Bernardo de Jesús thought this took place in Segovia, but the testimony of Francisco de Yepes that it was in Madrid, is conclusive.
280 26 farewell: MS 19407, fo. 10.
280 27 family: *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, leg. 1063.
280 31 like him: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. II, letter 247.
280 38 happened: MS 12738, fo. 843.
281 8 heaven: MS 19407, fo. 65 *v.*
281 9 Segovia: MS 12738, fo. 890.
281 23 Order: *Memorias historiales*, 33.
281 33 will go: MS 12738, fo. 850.
281 35 La Peñuela: *Ibid.*, fo. 170; MS 8568, fo. 121.
282 16 monastery: MS 7003.
282 24 Peñalosa: St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 27.
282 24 knew: MS 8568, fo. 121 — cf. MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, fo. 10.
282 29 monastery: MS 12738, fos. 170, 17–18.
282 31 twigs: *Ibid.*, fo. 171.
282 33 contemplation: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 10.
282 36 prayer: MS 8568, fo. 130.
282 41 rags: *Ibid.*, MS 12738, fo. 137.
282 41 writing: MS 12738, fo. 170 and 17–18.
283 4 spirit: MS 8568, fo. 191.
283 7 novice: *Ibid.*, fo. 120, n.— cf. MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 10.
283 11 herbs: MS 12738, fo. 144.
283 22 hand: *Ibid.*, fo. 142 — this note mentions Lent, but Fray John was only in La Peñuela during part of the summer and autumn.
283 25 August: *Ibid.*, fo. 170.
283 26 stubble: *Ibid.*, fo. 17.
283 30 dry wood: *Ibid.*, fo. 170.
284 9 said: *Ibid.*, fo. 17.
284 19 Cross: *Ibid.*, fo. 150. This incident is given in many MSS, too numerous to quote.
284 26 heaven: MS 12738, fo. 170.
285 6 instant: MS 8568, fo. 130.
285 24 to God: From an autograph document of Madre Ana dated Caravaca, 4 November, 1614. Cf. MS 12738, fo. 307 and St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 24.

page *line*

285 27 about it: MS 12738, fo. 307.
285 29 lovely thing: MS 8568, fo. 424.
285 31 the matter: *Ibid.*, fo. 122.
285 32 persecutors: *Ibid.*, fo. 136 n., fo. 66.
285 35 other?: MS 8568 fo. 136 marginal note.
286 9 *me:* MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 6.
286 11 disposition: MS 12738, fo. 353.
286 17 alternately: MS 8568, fo. 137.
286 19 not said: MS 8568, fo. 137.
286 20 actions: MS 12738, fo. 291 — cf. MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Ubeda, sig. 46, fo. 278.
286 25 Fray John: *Ibid.*, fo. 445.
286 26 protested: MS 12738, fo. 291.
286 28 Visitor: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Medina, sig. 25, fo. 56.
286 35 Ángelo: MS 19404, fo. 176 ff. q. 18.
286 36 Málaga: MS 12738, fo. 291.
287 4 Fray John: José de Jesús María, *Vida*, bk. III, ch. 21, p. 448.
287 7 presence: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
287 13 Reform; MS 19404, fo. 176, ff. q. 18.
287 27 cured: MS 12738, fo. 18.
287 35 avoid: *Ibid.*, fo. 170.
288 4 leave: *Ibid.*, fo. 163.
288 26 Cross: St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 27.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 20

289 3 Ubeda: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 18.
289 3 day: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14.
289 6 Dios: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 163. It appears that the mule was still alive twenty-five years later when the investigation for Fray John's beatification was in progress.
290 3 good: *Ibid.*, fo. 3; MS 12738, fo. 11.
290 6 bridge: *Ibid.*, fo. 172.
290 9 called it: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14; MS 12738, fo. 859.
290 11 maravedís: MS 12738, fo. 3, fo. 172, fo. 18.
290 13 defrauded: *Ibid.*, fo. 172.
290 21 asparagus: *Ibid.*, fos. 3, 172.
290 26 hands: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14 — cf. MS 12738, fo. 859.
290 40 style: Cf. Miguel Campos Ruiz, *Guía Artística e histórica de Ubeda*, 1928.
291 24 P. Crisóstomo: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14; MS 8568, fo. 126.
291 30 de Dios: MS 12738, fo. 1444.
291 33 in need: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
291 35 the rod: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

page	*line*	
291	41	for it: *Ibid.*, fo. 34.
292	3	monastery: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 353.
292	4	of Christ: *Ibid.*, vol. II, fos. 267, 187–187 *v*; MS Vaticano, proc. apost. de Baeza, sig. 51, fo. 62.
292	7	community: MS 12738, fo. 288.
292	11	again: *Ibid.*, fo. 11.
292	11	foot: *Ibid.*, fo. 32.
292	12	pimple: MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 264 ff.
292	13	cross: MS 12738, fo. 32.
292	20	Granada: MS 8568, fo. 292.
292	25	operation: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 353.
292	27	present: *Ibid.*, fo. 1281.
292	28	see it: *Ibid.*, vol. II, fo. 264 ff.
292	34	be done: MS 12738, fo. 1282.
292	36	flesh: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 353, 95.
292	36	wounds: *Ibid.*, fo. 141.
292	37	seen: *Ibid.*, vol. II, fo. 264 ff.
292	38	knife: MS 8568, fo. 292.
292	41	countenance: MS 12738, fo. 95.
292	41	pus: *Ibid.*, fo. 26.
293	3	evening: *Ibid. ibid.* and 859.
293	3	unpleasant: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 353.
293	4	musk: *Ibid.*, fo. 109 *v*.
293	6	lips: MS 12738, fo. 1281.
293	9	everyone: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 353.
293	11	noticed this: *Ibid.*, vol. II, fo. 264 ff.
293	14	pus: MS 8568, fo. 271.
293	15	to them: *Ibid.*, fo. 163.
293	17	restful: MS 12738, fo. 39; MS 8568, fo. 271.
293	20	Inés: MS 8568, fo. 163.
293	21	daughters: *Ibid.*, fo. 271.
293	24	not his: *Ibid.*
293	33	shoulder: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 153 — cf. fo. 355.
293	35	cleared up: MS 8568, fo. 271.
294	4	Alberto: MS 12738, fo. 39 — cf. MS 8568, fo. 275 and MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 173, where the two sisters sometimes appear under a different name, owing to the fact that their widowed mother married again.
294	7	was: MS 12738, fo. 153; MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 275; MS 12738, fo. 1015.
294	18	patients: MS 12738, fo. 96.
294	23	sight: *Ibid.*, fo. 95.
294	33	patient: *Ibid.*, fos. 96, 356.
295	5	substantial: *Ibid.*, fo. 95.
295	7	hands: *Ibid.*, fo. 101.
295	9	monastery: Cf. MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 420 *v*.
295	26	things away: *Ibid.*, and fo. 421.
295	31	saint: MS 12738, fo. 96.

page	*line*	
295	38	heaven: *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
295	41	to her: *Ibid.*, fo. 355.
296	6	Cross: *Ibid.*, fo. 96.
296	7	illness: *Ibid.*, fo. 101.
296	9	nine: *Ibid.*, fo. 100.
296	13	people: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 109 *v.*
296	22	La Peñuela: *Ibid.*, fo. 113 and II, fo. 203.
296	28	treatments: *Ibid.*, vol. II, fo. 129.
296	30	inquiry: *Ibid.*, fos. 103 *v*–104.
296	31	priest: *Ibid.*, fo. 118.
296	33	enclosure: MS 12738, fo. 185.
296	38	heaven: *Ibid.*, fo. 402.
297	3	there: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13 *v.*
297	21	away: MS 12738, fo. 153.
297	36	patient: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 11.
298	16	incredible: MS 12738, fo. 34.
298	26	provide: MS de Ubeda, vol. II (no folio given).
298	28	de Dios: MS 12738, fo. 1444.
298	34	lacking: MS 12738, fo. 1444.
298	35	him: MS Vaticano proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14 — cf. MS 8568, fo, 127; MS 12738, fo. 35.
298	41	gave him: MS 12738, fo. 33.
299	12	side: *Ibid.*, fo. 34.
299	18	Province: *Ibid.*, fo. 35.
299	33	by little: MS 8568, fo. 290; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13 *v.*
300	10	complained: MS 12738, fo. 3; MS 5868, fo. 127. Some authorities think it was the infirmarian who took him in his arms — Silverio, *Historia del Carmen Descalzo*, vol. V, p. 686.
300	15	a little: MS 12738, fo. 356 — cf. MS Vaticano, proc. inf. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14; MS 8568, fo. 127.
300	18	*saeculi:* MS 12738, fo. 860.
300	20	times: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 126.
300	22	martyrs: *Ibid.*, fo. 203.
300	23	sufficient: *Ibid.*, fo. 195 *v.*
300	24	it was: MS 8568, fo. 128.
300	27	temperature: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 30.
300	37	*ibimus:* MS 12738, fos. 3, 866.
300	39	fervour: *Ibid.*, fo. 1281.
300	40	sub-prior: MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 264 ff.
301	8	all things: MS 12738, fo. 1281.
301	18	superscriptions: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14 — cf. MS 8568, fos. 126–8.
301	24	sins: MS 12738, fos. 3, 12.
301	25	in prayer: *Ibid.*, fo. 3.
301	33	alms: MS 8568, fo. 330; MS 12738, fo. 1281.
301	34	blessing: *Ibid.*, fo. 1281.

page *line*

301 40 necessary: MS 12738, fo. 154.
301 41 tears: MS 8568, fo. 330.
302 2 bed: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 14.
302 5 Superior: *Ibid.*
302 7 himself: MS 12738, fo. 355; MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 264 ff.
302 8 Scriptures: MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 264 ff.
302 12 to me: MS 8568, fo. 292; MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13.
302 14 pain: MS 8568, fo. 292.
302 22 fathers: MS 12738, fo. 155.
302 28 for that?: MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 311.
302 31 *speravi: Ibid.*, fos. 265–311.
302 35 room: *Ibid.*, fo. 311. The author of MS 8568, fo. 159 counts twenty lights, because there were five candles on the altar — cf. MS 8568, fo. 278.
302 37 again: *Ibid.*, fo. 311.
303 2 eyes: MS 12738, fo. 1281.
303 4 our Lord: MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 311.
303 9 quiet: MS 12738, fo. 867.
303 10 Superiors: *Ibid.*, fo. 355.
303 14 smiled: *Ibid.*, fo. 867.
303 18 graciously: MS 8568, fo. 278.
303 20 pearls!: MS 13460, bk. II, ch. 31
303 23 Indigno: MS Vaticano. proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47, fo. 13; MS 8568, fo. 396.
303 25 San Cristóbal: MS 8568, fo. 124.
303 26 Provincial: MS Vaticano, proc. inform. de Jaén, sig. 47. fo. 13.
303 27 El Calvario: MS 12738, fo. 451.
303 32 went away: MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 204.
303 34 bandages: MS 8568, fo. 278.
303 36 matins: MS de Ubeda, vol. II, fo. 312.
304 2 last: MS 12738, fo. 355.
304 3 agony: *Ibid.*, and fo. 867.
304 5 radiance: MS 8568, fos. 329–30.
304 6 roses: *Ibid.*, fos. 447–8; MS 12738, fo. 3.
304 31 holiness: Cf. P. Florencio del Niño Jesús, in *Mensajero de Santa Teresa*, Nov. 1935, pp. 330–3.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 21

307 22 accounts say: Cf. Jerónimo de San José, *Historia*, bk. VII, ch. 12, p. 786.
307 29 Eliseo: *Dictámenes* — introduction.
307 30 penitent: MS 12738, fo. 458.
307 32 expression: Jerónimo de San José, *op. loc. cit.*
307 40 Seneca: MS 13482 (*Memorias historiales*).

page	*line*	
307	41	John: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. II, letter 224.
308	3	move: *Ibid.*, letter 246.
308	6	of God: *Ibid.*, vol. I, letter 16.
308	7	of sleep: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 135; MS 12738, fo. 885; MS 19407, fo. 381.
308	8	disciplines: MS 12738, fo. 847; MS 19407, fo. 150.
308	15	his life: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. II, letter 204.
308	18	confessor: MS 19407, fo. 150.
308	20	rough habit: MS 12738, fos. 146, 220.
308	21	goat-hair: MS 19407, fo. 381.
308	24	early days: MS 19404, fo. 199 *v*; MS 12738, fo. 641.
308	27	San Pedro: MS 12738, fo. 458.
308	37	at: MS 3537, fo. 182.
309	2	herself: MS 12738, fo. 458.
309	14	another: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 161, 139.
309	15	passions: MS 19407, fo. 8.
309	15	soul and body: MS 12738, fo. 168.
309	16	joy: *Ibid.*, fos. 813, 847.
309	16	laughter: *Ibid.*, fo. 234; MS 19407, fo. 9.
309	18	melancholy: MS 19407, fo. 178.
309	22	laugh: MS 12738, fo. 560.
309	23	stories: MS 8568, fo. 116.
309	24	straightforwardness: MS 12738, fos. 1029, 220, 639.
309	26	the dishes: *Ibid.*, fo. 221.
309	28	meal: MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 138.
309	29	osier: MS 12738, fo. 805.
309	31	all: MS 12738, fos. 799, 639, 847, 885; MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 169; MS 19407, fo. 152.
309	25	sad: *Dictámenes*, dict. 1.
309	36	subjects: MS 12738, fos. 1029, 853.
310	2	harshness: *Dictámenes*, dict. XI.
310	4	father: MS 12738, fos. 841, 836; MS 19407, fo. 180.
310	6	wanted: MS 12738, fo. 418.
310	16	relief: Cf. Chapters 11 and 14.
310	20	own hand: MS 12738, fo. 885; MS de Ubeda, vol. I, fo. 140.
310	22	Eufemia: MS 12738, fo. 150; MS 19407, fo. 381.
310	27	could: MS 12738, fo. 562.
310	29	to him: *Ibid.*, fos. 26, 883.
310	30	severely: *Ibid.*, fo. 841.
310	35	good faith: *Ibid.*, fo. 865.
310	37	absent: *Cautelas*, 1. Against the World (St John of the Cross, *Works*).
311	6	err: Cf. texts in ch. 18.
311	24	go away: Cf. texts in ch. 18.
311	25	Madre Teresa: St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 1.
311	25	with him: MS 12738, fo. 561.
311	27	Christ: St John of the Cross, *Works*, letter 5.
311	31	you say: *Ibid.*, letter 18.

page	*line*	
311	33	my mind: *Ibid.*, letter 27.
311	36	personal use: MS 12738, fo. 841.
311	38	for him: MS 19404, fo. 199 *v.*
311	40	table-linen: St Teresa, *Letters*, vol. III, letter 350.
312	2	noticed: MS 8568, fo. 412.

INDEX OF PERSONS

Aguilero, Hernando de, 29
Agustín de la Concepción, Fray, 187, 199, 200
Agustín de San José, Fray, 186, 207, 292, 299, 302, 303
Agustina de San José, 213, 214, 215, 216
Agustín de los Reyes, 60, 62, 174, 185, 210, 229, 239, 241, 243
Agustín, 142
Agustín Suarez, Fray, 89
Agustina, Madre, 225
Ahumada, Juana de, 70, 71
Alarcón Alonso de Granada, 212
Alba, Duke of, 55
Alba, Duchess of, 70, 174
Albert, St, 52
Alberto de San Francisco, 60
Aldonza, Sr., 257
Ángela de Alemán, 262
Antonio Alemán, 262
Alexis, St, 39
Alfonso, Prince (Son of doña Isabel), 7
Almoncair, Master, 176
Alonso González, Fray, 42, 47, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56
Alonso de la Madre de Díos (El Asturicense); with Fray John, 138, 187–90, 246, 251, 291, 298; in Granada, 186; receives habit, 187–190; after Fray John's death, 203, 215; first meets Fray John, 246; at Segovia, 251, 264; at Ubeda, 291, 298; at Fray John's death, 300, 303, 304–5
Alonso, Padre, 15, 16, 23, 67
Alonso, Fray, 144
Alonso, Br., 128
Alphonso VIII, 290
Altomiros, Fray Jeronimo, 55
Álvarez, Catalina, 2–11, 17, 18, 84–5, 151
Álvarez de Toledo, Alonso, 13, 14, 21, 24
Ambrosio de San Pedro, 60, 118
Ammianus Marcellinus, 16
Ana de los Ángeles, 106, 114, 116
Ana de la Encarnación, 178, 213, 231, 294
Ana de Jesús; as novice, 61; witnesses miracle, 76, 236–7; receives Fray John's sketch of Christ, 77; as Prioress at Beas, 125–6, 132, 141, 157, 158; helps foundation of Convent at Granada, 179–83; in Granada, 212–13, 214, 217; transferred to Madrid, 244; against changes to the Constitution, 271–272; letters to, from Fray John, 277–8
Ana de Jesús (Lay-sister), 247
Ana de la Madre de Díos, 114
Ana María, 95, 99, 221, 308
Ana de San Alberto, 164, 165, 178, 238, 244, 245, 285
Ana de San José, 267
Anda, Miguel de, 16
Andrés de la Encarnación, 225, 248
Andrés de Jesús, 273
Ángel, Padre, 256
Ángel de la Presentación, 174, 287
Ángel de Salazar, Fray, 24, 27, 68–9, 89, 90, 171, 172
Ángel de San Gabriel, 60, 65, 66, 67
Angúlo, Miguel de, 261
Antonia del Espíritu Santo, 45, 61, 180, 213, 231
Antonio, Br., 252
Antonio del Espíritu Santo, 230
Antonio de Jesús, Fray, 228, 253
Antonio de Jesús (Heredia), Padre; and Madre Teresa, 42–3, 45, 122, visits Toledo, 42–3; and the Reform, 43, 47, 58, 174, 221, 275; 299; helps found Monastery at Duruelo, 45–6, 52–5; resigns Priorship of Medina, 48, 52; at Man-

Antonio de Jesús (Heredia), contd.
cera, 55–7, 61–2, 174; at Pastrana, 58; appointed Prior of Toledo, 88; at Almadóvar, 91–2; imprisonment of, 107, 123, 170; at Chapter at Almadóvar, 118–19, 120–3; elected Provincial, 121; at Madrid, 123; at Alcala, 174–5; elected diffinitor, 175, 228; in Segovia, 253; as Provincial of Andalusia, 281, 299, 303
Antonio de San Cristóbal, 303
Antonio de San Juan, 55
Antonio de San Pablo, 57
Aristotle, 33, 34, 63
Aranda, Diego de, 243
Juan de Jesús María Aravalles, 279
Juana de Arjona, 142, 154, 155
Astete, Gaspar, 16
Asunción, Sister, 216
Audet, Father General, 23, 26, 91
Augustine, St, 12, 146, 226, 227
Averroës, 33, 34, 36
Avicenna, 33
Azor, Maestro, 176

Baconthorp, John, 35, 36, 227
Baltasar, Padre, 60, 62, 73, 88
Baltasar de Jesús, Fray, 184, 187, 191, 223, 226
Baltasar de Jesús Nieto, 170
Barba Antonio, 183
Barbara del Espíritu Santo, 178
Bartolomé de San Alberto, 60
Bartolomé de San Basilio, 174, 185, 230, 290, 291, 299–303,
Bartolomé de Santa Mariá, 251
Bartolomé, Br., 263
Baruzi, Jean, 227
Basil, St, 262
Bazán, María 296
Beatriz de la Encarnación, 218
Beatriz de Jesús, 181, 213
Beatriz del Sacramento, 267
Beatriz de San Miguel, 180, 213, 244
Becerra, Dr., 145, 153
Benavides, Bartolomé de, 296, 298
Benavides, Clara de, 294, 295
Benavides, Elena de, 295
Benavides, Francisco de, 296
Bermeja, Antón de la, 264
Bernabé de Jesús, Br., 255, 258
Bernadina de Jesús Robles, 156
Bernardo de la Madre de Díos, Fray, 303
Bernardo de la Virgen, Fray, 298, 299
Bernard, St, 227
Blas de San Gregorio, Fray, 174, 175
Blas de San Gregorio, 253
Boethius, 227
Bonifacio, Juan, 16, 17, 220
Boscán, Juan, 227
Braganza, Don Teutomo de, (Bishop of Evora), 106
Bravo (Licenciate), 190
Brocardo de San Pedro, Fray, 129, 139
Brocardo el Viejo, Fray, 92, 128
Brocense, El (Sánchez, Francisco), 5, 29, 35
Bustillo, Pedro Fernández, 13, 14, 23, 24

Caesar, 16
Cafardo (P. General), 242
Calancha, Juana de, 156, 157, 158, 159
Camara, Dr., 175
Canales, Juan Sánchez de, 20
Cano, Melchor, 28
Capella, Maximiliano, 15
Cardona, Catalina de, 87
Carlebal, Dr., 141, 143, 146, 153
Carillo, Padre, 8
Caro, Padre Cristóbal, 18
Carranza, Padre Miguel, 27
Carro, Padre, 268
Catalina de Castro, 69
Catalina de San Alberto, 136, 294
Catalina de los Ángeles, 182
Catalina de Cristo, 135
Catalina de la Cruz, 134, 157, 158
Catalina del Espíritu Santo, 213
Catalina Evangelista, 230, 231
Catalina de Jesús, 157, 167, 168, 213
Celis, P. Lucas de, 52
Cepeda y Ocampo, Beatriz de, 79, 81
Cepeda, Leonor de, 76, 85
Cepeda, Lorenzo de, 94
Cerda, Luisa de la, 70
Chacón Pedro, 31

Charles V, 20, 100, 290
Cicero, 16
Cirilo de San Miguel, 60
Cisneros, Cardinal, 62, 63
Columna, Miguel de, 170
Córdoba, Antonio Fernández de, 240
Córdoba y Mendoza, Luis Fernández de, 237
Córdoba, Luis de, 210
Covarrubias, *see* Orozco, Juan de
Crisógono de Jesús, 247, 248
Cristóbal de Jesús, 303
Cristóbal, Br., 283
Cuellar, Juan de, 130, 131, 289, 296, 303
Curtius, 16

Dámaso Alonso, 227
Dávalos, Diego, 28
Denis, St, 38
Deza, Padre, 60
Díaz, Fernando, 297, 303
Diego de la Concepción, Fray, 186, 233, 282, 297, 300, 301
Diego de la Trinidad, Fray, 91, 139, 172, 176, 179, 200
Diego, Fray, 129, 205
Diego Evangelista, Fray, 175, 225–226, 232–3, 274–5, 278–9, 285, 286
Diego de la Encarnación, 281
Diego de Jesús, 251, 292, 293
Dionisius the Areopagite, 227
Domingo, P., 291
Domingo Bañez, Padre, 66, 67
Domingo de la Presentación, Fray, 186
Doria: Nicolás de Jesús María; appointed Procurator, 121, 123; at Brief of Separation, 174; elected diffinitor, 175; opposes Padre Gracian, 202; elected Provincial, 228; convenes Chapter at Pastrana, 231–2; at Madrid meeting, 241–2; elected Vicar-General, 250; visits all houses of the Reform, 256; draws up letters to all the houses of the Reform, 258; disagreement with Fray John, 270–7, 286
Dueñas Rodrigo de, 11, 12, 20

Éboli, Prince and Princess, 58, 59, 86, 87, 107

Eduardo de Santa Teresita, 167
Elias, Prophet, 247
Elias de San Martín, 91, 174, 281, 287
Eliseo de San Ildefonso, 60
Eliseo de los Mártires, 158–9, 174, 243, 306, 307, 308, 309
Enríquez, Teresa, 4
Espinar, Pedro, 32
Eugenio IV, 52
Eustochium, St, 261

Falces, 63
Felipe, Padre, 186
Ferdinand, St, 290
Ferdinand the Catholic, 4
Fernando de la Cruz, Padre, 186
Fernando de la Madre de Dios, Fray, 129, 291, 292, 295, 300, 303
Ferdinando de Santa María, 228, 246
Flores, María, 152
Fontaines, Godfrey of, 36
Francis, St, 66
Francisca de Jesús, 84, 138
Francisca de San Eliseo, 115
Francisca de San José, 178
Francisca de la Madre de Díos, 125, 134, 215, 305
Francisco de los Apóstoles, Fray, 80, 82, 83, 93
Francisco de la Concepción, Fray, 92, 118, 124, 138, 143, 186
Francisco Crisóstomo, Padre, 233, 291, 297, 298, 301, 304
Francisco del Espíritu Santo, Fray, 163
Francisco de Jesús Indigno Hernandez, 146, 303
Francisco de Jesús (Capela), Padre, 91, 185, 186, 210
Francisco de Jesús María, Fray, 187
Francisco de San Hilarión, Padre, 284, 287
Francisco, Br., 186, 197, 252, 298, 302, 303

Gabriel de la Asunción, Fray, 60, 91, 92, 118, 123, 174, 175
Gabriel Bautista, Fray, 73, 80, 81
Gabriel de la Concepción, Padre, 185, 282

Gabriel de San Juan, Fray, 253
Gabriel de la Madre de Díos, Br., 160, 186
Gabriel de Santiago, Fray, 89
Gallo, Juan, 32
Gallo, Gregorio, 29
García, Fray Martin, 40, 55
García, Br. Fray, 186
Gardo, Francisco de (Bishop of Jaén), 141
Gaspar de Santa María, Fray, 60
Gaspar de San Pedro, Fray, 143, 160, 162, 163, 177, 178, 251
Gaytán, 85, 86
Gerardo, Fray, 144, 148
Germán de San Matías, Padre, 73, 95, 96, 97, 98, 103
Ghent, Henry of, 36
Gómez, Juan, 13
Gómez, Prince Ruy, 58, 87
Gracián, Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios, Padre; at Pastrana, 66; appointed Visitor, 88, 97–8, 99; appointed reformer, 89; presides over Chapter at Almodóvar, 91, 92; Reform paper by, 96; imprisonment of, 107, 170; deprived of authority as Visitor, 109; letters to, from Madre Teresa, 120, 122, 250, 280; and Juana Calancha, 157–9; resigns office as Visitor, 170; at Chapter at Alcalá, 174, 175, 176; elected Provincial, 175; at Salamanca, 180; opposed by Doria, 202, 270, 273–5; expulsion of, 202; at Chapter at Lisbon, 228; elected diffinitor, 228
Grajal, Gaspar de, 32
Gregorio de San Ángelo, Fray, 251, 253, 275, 277, 286
Gregorio Nacianceno, Fray, 118, 123, 174, 176, 228, 232, 242, 251, 260
Gregory XIII, 89, 169, 172, 173
Gregory XIV, 276
Gregory, St, 38, 227
Guerra, Juan, 16
Guevara, Juan de, 28, 32, 80, 250

Hernado de Castillo, Fray, 171, 172
Hernández, Enrique, Master, 29, 33, 34
Hernández, Gregorio, 21
Higuera, Cristóbal de la, 129, 130, 131, 296, 300, 303
Horace, 16

Ibros, Teresa de, 150, 153
Inés de San Agustín, 248
Inés de Jesús, 84
Inocencio de San Andrés, Padre, 64, 142, 143, 145, 149, 173
Innocent IV, 52
Irana, 63
Isabel (Mother of Prince Alfonso), 7
Isabel the Catholic, 1, 7, 184
Isabel de Cristo, 267
Isabel de la Encarnación, 213, 214, 217, 224
Isabel de Santo Domingo, 267
Isabel de San Francisco, 96
Isabel de San Jerónimo, 84, 115
Isabel de Jesús, 206, 266
Isaias, 267
Izquierdo, Ana, 8, 10, 17, 24
Izquierdo, Ana (daughter), 17

Jerome, St, 16, 261
Jerónima, Madre del Espíritu Santo, 247, 248
Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios, Padre, 228, 232
Jerónimo de la Crux, Fray, 138, 144, 146, 148, 160–1, 186, 195, 205
Jerónimo Jordán, Fray, 89
Jerónimo de San José, Padre, 23, 307, 308
Jorge de San José, Fray, 198
John Chrysostom, St, 146
José de Jesús María, Fray, 38
José de la Madre de Díos, Padre, 146, 153
José, Fray, 52, 57, 58, 147
Joseph, St, 192
Juan II, 7
Juan Bautista, El Rondeño, Padre, 242
Juan Bautista, Fray, 43, 55, 57, 62, 228, 232, 241, 253
Juan de Ávila, Master, 141, 144, 145, 146, 152
Juan de Jesús, Padre, 143, 165
Juan de Jesús Roca, Padre, 91, 107, 121, 122, 139, 170, 172, 174
Juan de la Madre de Díos, Fray, 176, 284, 287, 289

Juan de las Cuevas, Fray, 173, 174, 175, 176
Juan de St Eufemia, Fray, 165, 167, 310
Juan de San Ángelo, Padre, 186
Juan de San José, Padre, 77
Juan de San Pablo, Fray, 146, 149, 153
Juan de San Simón, Fray, 251
Juan de Santa Ana, Fray, 142, 143, 144, 160, 165, 166
Juan de Santa Ana, Padre, 270, 277, 285, 301
Juan de Santa María, Fray, 107, 115
Juan de Santiago, Fray, 123
Juan Evangelista, Fray; at Granada, 186, 190–1; receives habit, 186; at Los Mártires, 196; obtains permission to stay with Fray John, 203; witnesses Fray John's writing, 223, 225; on Fray John, 226, 252, 308; travels with Fray John, 234; at Segovia, 255, 258–9, 274
Juan Narduch (Fray Juan de la Miseria), 58, 60
Juana de Jesús, 61
Juana de St Jeronimo, Sr., 178
Julián de Ávila, 43, 47, 71, 85, 86, 94
Justus, St, 65

Leceta, 63
Ledesma, 68
León Diego de, Fray, 87
León, Luis de, Fray, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 79, 272
Leonor de Bautista, 180, 213
Leonor de Jesús, 114, 115
Leonor de Vitoria, 261
Livy, 16
López, Dr. Diego, 176
López, Rodrigo, 144
Lombard, Peter, 33
Lozano, 63
Lucás de San José, Fray, 259
Lucía de San José, 125, 180, 213, 286
Luis, Br., 253
Luis de Granada, Fray, 159
Luis de San Ángelo, Fray, 146, 153, 187, 192, 194, 198
Luis de San Jerónimo, Fray, 130, 186, 193, 224, 231, 253
Luna, Álvaro de, 181

Magdalena del Espíritu Santo, 126, 135, 136, 138, 168
Maldonado, Padre, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 111
Mancio de Corpus Christi, 28, 32, 79
Manrique, Luis de, 171, 172
Manuel de la Madre de Dios, Fray, 186
María (first wife of Juan II), 7
María de San Ángelo, 243, 247
Maria de la Concepción, 219
María de Cristo, 180, 181, 213, 230, 244
María de la Cruz, 211, 213, 215, 216
María de la Encarnación, 86, 261, 265, 278, 280
María Evangelista de Jesús, 213, 217
María de San Francisco, 61
María de Jesús, 178, 180, 213, 230, 244, 248
María de San José, 106
María de San Juan, 213, 217
María de la Madre de Dios, 213
María de San Pablo, 180, 231, 287
María de San Pedro, 307, 308, 309
María del Sacramento, 305
María de la Visitación, 229
Mariana de la Cruz, 266
Mariana de Jesús, 213, 244
Mariano, Ambrosio Azaro, *see* Mariano, Ambrosio de San Benito
Mariano, Ambrosio de San Benito, Fray, 58, 60, 107, 170, 174, 175, 229, 256, 258
Mariano de León, Fray, 43, 96, 107, 122, 123
Marina de San Ángelo, 248
Marmol, Bernabé de, 272
Martial, 16
Martín de la Asunción, Fray, 150, 156, 159, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240, 283, 284
Martín de la Cruz, Fray, 55
Martín de Jesús, Fray, 251
Martín de San José, Padre, 186, 203, 224

Martínez, Andrés, 176
Mary Magdalene, St, 222
Mateo del Santísimo Sacramento, Padre, 293
Medina, Bartolomé de, 79
Medina, Blas de, 42, 43
Mejía, Rafael, 45, 48, 50
Melchora de los Reyes, 218
Mendoza, Álvaro de, 42, 47, 94
Mendoza, Enrique de, 175
Mendoza, Luis Hurtado de, 175
Mendoza, María de, 47, 70, 71
Mendoza, Pedro González de, 116, 119, 120, 124, 126
Mercado, Inés de, 261, 288
Mercado (Peñalosa), Luis de, 259, 279, 280, 287
Merino, Cardinal, 290
Michael of Bologna, 35
Miguel de los Ángeles, Fray, 186
Minarro, Juan Sánchez, 206, 209
Molina, Lope de, 296
Molina, María de, 293, 298
Molina, Tomás Pérez de, 17
Moral, Diego de, 142
Mudéjar, Marqués de, 175, 176
Múgica, Antonio de, 253
Muñoz de Godoy, Diego, 260

Navarra, Diego, 131, 303
Navarro, Francisco, 29
Nieto, Gaspar, 27
Niño, Cardinal, Archbishop of Seville, 304
Nuñez Marcelo, 141, 143, 146, 153, 209

Ocáriz, 175
Ockham, William, 63
Ocón, Juan, 243
Ojeda, Dr., 141, 143, 145, 153
Ormaneto, 89, 93, 95, 99, 102, 118, 170
Orozco, Juan de (Covarrubias), 85, 86, 251, 253, 261
Orozco, Fray Pedro de, 43, 44
Ortega Cabrio, Andrés, 129
Ortega Cabrio, Bartolomé, 294, 295, 304
Ortega Cabrio, Felipa, 129
Ortega, María de, 295, 296
Osorio, Juan López, 14, 23, 24
Osorio, Juan de Morillos, 229
Ottaduy, Dr, 176

Pablo de Santa María, Padre, 252, 260, 265
Palacios, 63
Pannels, 307
Pastor, St, 65
Paula, St, 261
Paz, Justa de la, 156
Paz, María de la, 155, 156, 296
Pazos, Mauricio de, 238
Pedraza, Juan de, 206, 207, 208, 212, 311
Pedro (Workman), 252, 253
Pedro de los Ángeles, Fray; at Duruelo, 55; at Mancera, 57; accompanies Fray John to Pastrana, 59; accompanies Fray John to Alcalá, 62; at Almodóvar, 91, 118; sent to Rome, 93; made *socius* to Doria, 121; leaves the Reform, 123; leaves for Granada, 181; at Los Mártires, 186
Pedro de los Apostoles, Fray, 60
Pedro de la Cruz, Fray, 60, 186
Pedro de la Encarnación, Fray, 191, 192
Pedro Fernández, Fray, 62, 64, 71, 88, 89, 171, 173
Pedro de San Hilarion, Fray, 142, 143, 144
Pedro de San Jerónimo, Fray, 60
Pedro de Jesús, Fray, 120
Pedro de San José, Fray, 251, 293, 297, 302
Pedro de Santa María, Padre, 258
Pedro de la Purificación, Fray, 73, 80, 81, 83, 174
Peñalosa, Ana de; helps the Discalced nuns, 182–3; in Granada, 206; *Living Flame of Love* composed for, 206, 223–4; consults Fray John about her husband's will, 250–2; in Segovia, 261; in Madrid, 279–280; letters to, from Fray John, 282, 288, 311
Peñan, Cirilo, 279
Peñuela, Hernando de, 154
Peñuela, Juan de la, 296
Peñuela, Madre, 154
Pérez, 63
Pérez, Diego, 141, 143, 153

Peralta, Martín de, 29
Pescara, Marqués de, 290
Philip II; on the price of bread, 3; obtains Brief for the appointment of Apostolic Visitors, 87–8; and Madre Teresa, 94, 96, 98, 107, 169, 308; friction with nuncio, 170–1; sends petition to Pope, 172–3; finances Chapter at Alcalá, 175; earns the Discalced friars' gratitude, 177; gives permission for convent in Granada, 212
Pius V, St, 57
Pliny, 16
Pomponius Mela, 16
Pretel, Juan, 253, 254
Puente, Dr de la, 176
Pulgar, Francisco, 210

Quevedo, Elvira, 13

Rengifo, Fray Diego, 20, 23
Ribera, Padre, 213
Robles, Hernando Martínez and Elena de, 156
Robres Dr, 295, 296
Rubeo, Juan Bautista, 23, 39–40, 41, 68, 87–8, 89, 90
Ruiz, Francisco (Painter), 209
Ruiz, Fray Ildefonso, 21, 24
Ruiz, Fray Luis, 104
Ruiz, Dr, 176
Ruysbroeck, 227

Salazar, Catalina de, 293, 297, 303
Salazar, Inés de, 293, 297, 303
Salcedo, Francisco de, 48, 49, 94, 308
Sallust, 16
Salvadaro de Quesada, 296
Sánchez, Fray Bartolomé, 104
Sánchez, Marco, 219
Sandoval, Don Cristóbal de Rojas y, Archbishop of Seville, 173
Santa Cruz, Marqués de, 296
Santillana, Martín de, 40
Scotus, Duns, 29, 36, 63
Sebastián de San Hilario, Fray, 146, 153
Sedeno, Mateo Arévalo, 68
Sega, Mgr Philip, 95, 103, 108–9, 118, 121, 123, 169–71
Segura, María de, 291
Seneca, 16
Sepúlveda, 145, 153
Silverio, Padre, 168, 247
Sixtus V, 242, 272, 276
Soreth, 91
Soto, Domingo, 29
Sotomayor, Domingo de, 157
Stephen, St, 75
Suetonius Aliciatus, 16

Tauler, 227
Tendilla, Conde de, 171
Teresa, St; founds second Convent of Discalced nuns, 41–2, 47; meets Fray John, 44; helps found first Monastery of Discalced friars, 45–46, 47, 48; on Fray John, 46, 49, 71, 83, 84, 94, 120, 132, 165, 307–308; at Valladolid, 47, 149; letter from, to Francisco, 48–9; visits Duruelo, 52–3; at Pastrana, 58; founds Alba de Tormes, 61; and the Pastrana trouble, 66; as Prioress of Convent of Incarnation, 68–73; relationship with Fray John, 77–8; in Ávila, 79; in Segovia, 85–6; and the struggles of the Reform, 89–91, 93, 95, 109, 118, 122–3, 169–72, 275; organizes mystical contest, 94–5; during Fray John's imprisonment, 97–9, 105–7; letter from, to Ana de Jesus, 132; and the 'flu epidemic, 149, 169; and the Convent at Cara Vaca, 164–5; encourages Convent at Granada, 180–1; and Fray John's writing, 221–2; works of, 242, 258; letter from, to Gracián, 250
Teresa de la Concepción, 115
Teutonio de Braganza, 272
Thomas Aquinas, St, 33, 34, 36, 37, 63, 227
Toledo, Cristóbal de, Fray, 104
Toledo, Luis de, 55, 56
Tomás de Jesús, Fray, 223
Tostado, Jerónimo, Padre, 89, 90, 91, 95, 100, 102, 108, 109, 118, 169–170
Ubredo, Juan de, 29
Ulloa, Guiomar de, 99
Ulloa, Magdalena de, 70

URUEÑA, FRANCISCO DE, 263, 264, 281

VAL, 63
VALDEMORO, Padre, 93, 96, 97
VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, 16
VALVERDE, MIGUEL DE, 262
VARGAS, Fray FRANCISCO DE, 88, 89
VELA, CRISTÓBAL, 29
VELASCO, 15, 16, 22, 24, 27, 220
VELÁZQUEZ, TERESA LAYZ, 61
VELÁZQUEZ, FRANCISCO, 61
VERA, JUAN DE, 147
VIANA, JUAN DE, 263
VILCHES, MARÍA, 154, 156
VIDAL, ANTONIO, 89
VILLALBA, ALONSO DE, 24, 37, 38, 39, 55, 56, 104
VILLALPANDO, FRANCISCA DE, 46, 63
VILLAREAL, AMBROSIO DE, 292, 294, 296, 300
VILLAVICENCIO, Fray LORENZO DE, 171, 172
VILLEGAS, Dr, 260
VILLENA, Marquesa de, 181
VIRGIL, 16
VITORIA, 28, 32, 33

YEPES, FRANCISCO DE; early life of, 2, 5, 7–8, 10; on Fray John, 12, 15, 17; holiness of, 18, 268; with Fray John in Duruelo, 51; at his mother's death, 151; at Los Mártires, 211; in Segovia, 267–9
YEPES, GONZALO DE, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 12
YEPES, JUAN DE, 4–5
YEPES, LUIS DE, 3, 5
YERA, MARÍA DE, 76

INDEX OF PLACES

ADAJA, R., 6, 49
AJATES Valley, 68
AJOFRÍN, 119
ALBA DE TORMES, 61, 85, 242
ALBERCHE, R., 1, 181
ALCALÁ, university at, 58, 62, 145, 226; first house of studies of the Reform at, 62–5, 147, 186; Chapter at, 173–7, 179, 185, 200, 201, 308
ALCOLEA, 235
ALGABA, 304
ALHAMBRA (Granada), 184, 185, 191, 192, 206, 216
ALMAGRO, 186
ALIATARES (Baeza), 151
ALMODÓVAR DEL CAMPO; Monastery at, 87; Chapter at, 94; meeting at, 95; second Chapter at, 118–23, 138; third Chapter at, 200–2, 228
ALTARAZANAS, 229
ALTOMIRA, 87, 175
AMERICA, 141
ANAYA COLLEGE, 29
ANDALUSIA; Fray John in, 6, 78, 124, 162, 164, 189, 232–3, 237, 241, 244, 245–8, 281; Apostolic Commissioners of, 88, 89; Visitors of, 88, 91, 98; Provincial of, 89, 90, 91, 205; suppression of Discalced Monasteries in, 90; cultural centre of, 141; first college of Discalced friars in, 144; 'flu epidemic in, 151; memories of Fray John in, 203; hunger in, 210
ANDALUSIA, LOWER, 274
ANDUJAR, 186
ANGEL, COLEGIO DE (Seville), 304
ARIZA Bridge, 289
ARAGÓN, 27, 88
ARANA, 182
ARANJUEZ, 58
ARÉVALO, 6–8, 9, 10, 42
AREVALILLO, R., 6
ARMEÑA, 224
ARQUILLOS, 289
ASTORGA, 251
ATLANTIC, 229
ATOCHA, 57, 88, 123
AUNAR, 182
ÁVILA; Chapter at, 40, 41; *Convent of the Incarnation* at, 68–71, 72, 75–8, 94, 96, 97–9, 179, 221; Carmelite monastery at, 68, 72–80, 88, 96; Madre Teresa's body taken from, 242

BADAJOZ, 173
BAEZA; Discalced friars' College at, 141–58, 162–7, 197, 287; Fray John's writing at, 223; miracle at, 284
BARCELONA, 105
BASILIO, SAN (College of), Baeza, 145, 147, 150
BEAS; convent at, 124–7, 133–9, 159–161, 163, 167–8, 215, 222, 245; Juana Calancha in, 157–9; Fray John's letter to convent at, 162, 311
BEGOÑA, Carmel of (Bilbao), 167
BENALÚA, 235
BOLARQUE, 186
BUJALANCE, 234, 235, 236, 245, 246
BURGOS, 180
BURGUILLOS, 119, 186, 291

CABRA, 213
Calle ELVIRA (Granada), 191, 212, 218
Calle de GÓMERES (Granada), 205
Calle MAYOR (Medina del Campo), 9
Calle de SAN DIEGO (Almodóvar), 120
Calle de SANTIAGO (Medina del Campo), 10, 11, 20, 42
Calle de la SILLERIA (Toledo), 114
Calle de CANTÍVEROS (Fontiveros), 2,
CALVARIO, EL (Monastery); Fray John appointed Superior of, 121; La Peñuela monastery transferred

CALVARIA—*continued*
to, 124, 282; Fray John arrives at, 127; description of, 127–8; life at, 128–32, 196; Fray John's cell at, 139; 'flu epidemic in, 149–50; Fray John's writing at, 222, 223
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, 202
CARAQUEL, 91, 119
CARAVACA, 177, 178, 230, 231, 238, 244, 245, 246, 285, 305
CARMONA, 239, 240
CASTELLAR, 146, 165
CASTILE, 1, 3, 6, 23, 41, 44, 55, 88, 91, 100, 101, 172
CATALONIA, 1, 89, 186
CAZORLA SIERRA, 133, 142, 291
CEBREROS, 1
CHICLANA, 124, 133
CIGALES, 173
CIEMPOZUELOS, 65
CIUDAD REAL, 91, 119
CLAMORES, R., 254
CONCEPTION HOSPITAL, 18, 150
CONGO, 202
CÓRDOBA, 235, 237, 238, 240, 241, 256
CORREO (Toledo), 114
CUBILLA, R., 182
CUÉLLAR, 260
CUERDA DE LA RAYA, 133
CUERVA, 273

DAIFONTES, 182
DARAZUTÁN, 119
DARRO, R., 196
DESPEÑAPERROS, 124
DUERO, R., 48
DURUELO; Monastery at, 45–55, 299; abandonment of Monastery at, 56

ECIJA, 238, 240
ERESMA, R., 251, 254, 255, 265
ESCALONA, 1, 181
EUROPE, 9
ESTEBAN, SAN (College of), Salamanca, 26

FELIPE, SAN (Carmelite Province), 274
FLANDERS, 9, 55, 125
FONTIVEROS, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
FRANCE, 9, 125
FUENCISLA, 251, 254, 255
FUENSANTA, 246
FUENTES, 240

GALVEZ, 4, 5
GENERALIFE (Granada), 184, 210
GENIL, R., 181, 184, 196
GENOA, 202, 228, 257
GRANADA, *see also* Los Mártires *and* San José; Discalced friars encouraged in, 88; orders against Discalced friars in, 101–2, 170; Fray John in, 134, 153, 185–200, 204–9, 223–6, 230, 244; Fray John's writing in, 223–6, 286
GREDOS, SIERRA DE, 1, 50
GUADALAJARA, 10
GUADALCÁZAR, 186, 225, 233, 239, 240, 283
GUADALÉN, R., 289
GUADALERZA, 119
GUADALIMAR, R., 124, 125, 127, 133, 141, 163, 165, 166, 289, 290
GUADALQUIVIR, R., 58, 127, 128, 142, 161, 235, 246
GUADALUPE, 185
GUADARRAMA (SIERRA), 97, 246
GUADIANA, R., 247

HERMENGILD, ST (Monastery), 279

IBROS, 150
ITALY, 35, 123, 202, 228, 257, 287
IZNATORAFE, 139, 160, 165, 166

JAÉN, 141, 224, 234, 235, 236, 237
JERUSALEM (Rite of), 242

LINARES, 283
LISBON, 159, 201, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 273
LOJA MOUNTAINS, 184

MADRID: Atocha monastery in, 88; meeting of definitors in, 241–2; convent in, 244, 247; Chapters in, 250, 270–9
MAGDALENA (Church and Convent of), 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 20
MÁLAGA, 162, 218, 228, 230, 231, 244
MALAGÓN, 45, 119, 242, 247, 248, 249
MANCERA DE ABAJO, 55–62, 87
MANCERA DE ARRIBA, 51, 58

Mancha, La, 9, 29, 91, 119, 124, 174, 241
Manchuela, La, 186, 236, 237, 242, 243
Marcos, San, 254, 265
Martiherrero, 49
Mártires, Los (Monastery), Granada, 184–99, 202–3, 209–18, 230–1
Maqueda Gate, 4
Medina del Campo; fairs at, 1–2, 7; Fray John's early life in, 9–23, 131, 147; Madre Teresa in, 41–8; Madre Teresa with Fray John in, 44–8; Fray John visits, 84–5; Fray John's imprisonment in, 93; Fray John's writing in, 220
Mexico, 264, 268, 276, 277, 285
Molina, 256
Monte Calvario, 64
Mora Encantada, 4
Morana Plain, 49, 58, 124, 163
Morena Sierra, 270, 280, 281, 282, 289
Murcia, 164, 233
Muriel, 8

Naples, 35
Navarre, 232
Las Navas de Tolosa, 124, 281, 290
Nevada Sierra, 184, 196, 212, 291
New Castile, 232, 241
New Spain, 264, 276, 277
Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, 146
Nuestra Señora de la Concepción (Hospital), 13
Nuestra Señora de Gracia (Monastery), 14, 79, 80, 82

Ocaña, 1
Old Castile, 232
Olmedo, 17
Olmos, R., 46, 47, 48
Orgaz, 119

Palencia, 10
Pamplona, 167
Paris, 34, 63, 89
Pastrana, 58–67, 86, 87, 231–2
La Peñuela, 88, 101, 102, 124, 138, 141, 144, 152, 163, 225, 281–9
Peralvillo, 119
Piacenza, 90, 93, 101, 169, 172
Piesma, 119
Pilar del Toro, 191
Pisuerga, R., 47, 48
Portugal, 9, 27, 89, 90, 173, 232
Pozáldez, 20
Puerta del Carmen, 96

Ravenna, 23, 57
Remedios, Los (Monastery), 238, 304
La Roda, 87, 165
Rome, 24, 26, 93, 122, 123, 172, 173

Sabiote, 163, 164, 296
Salad 'oR., 237
Salamanca, *see* San Andrés
San Andrés (Carmelite College), 26–39, 45, 55, 105
San Bartolomé (Church), 206
San Bartholomew (College), 30
San Bernardo (Convent), 218
San Bernadino (Monastery), 123
St Cyril, College of, 176
San Hermenegildo, 186
San José (Convent), 41, 68, 69, 97, 98, 114–17, 177–83, 244, 286
San José del Monte, 218
San Juan del Puerto, 88
San Juan de los Reyes (Church), 4
San Justo (Church), 176
Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 287, 307
San Martin (Church), 18
San Nicolás (Church), 290
San Pablo (Convent), 88, 91
San Pablo (Church), 290
San Pablo de la Moraleja, 91, 96, 98
San Pablo de los Perdones, 55
San Pedro (Hermitage), 58, 59, 67
St Quentin (Battle of), 58
San Servando, 100, 111, 112
Santo Tomé de Zabarcos, 49
San Vicente, 69, 80
Santa Ana (College), 220
Santa Ana (Hermitage), 20
Santa Ana (Monastery), 21, 23, 24, 42, 45, 165, 166
Santa Clara (Church), 290
Santa Cruz (Hospital), 116, 119
Santa Maria Egipciáca (Convent), 219
Santa María de los Reales Alcázares (Church), 290
Santiago, 16, 17, 18, 240

Santiago (Church), 14
Santiago (Hospital), 290
Santisteban, Castellar de, 124
Santisteban del Puerto, 124
Segovia: Convent in, 85–6, 277–8; Fray John at Monastery in, 207–8, 251–69, 274, 281; Fray John nominated Prior of, 250
Segura, Sierra, 124
Seville, 88, 101, 102, 123, 166, 232, 233, 238, 239, 240
Somosierra, 254, 265
Sorihuela, 124, 165
Surgento, 260

Tagus, R., 4, 58, 59, 60, 100, 110, 112, 113, 201, 232
Talavera de la Reina, 173
Toledo; Madre Teresa in, 94; Fray John's imprisonment in, 100–13, 122, 127, 134, 222, 308, 310
Torafe, 191
Tormes, 26, 37
Torreperogil, 160, 166, 182
Torrijos, 4
Trent (Council of), 40, 178

Ubeda, 162, 163, 262, 280, 287, 288, 289–305, 313

Valencia, 27
Valladolid, 10, 11, 46–8, 149, 246, 247, 307
Valsaín, 254
Velez Málaga, 131
Venice, 26, 35
Venta de los Toros de Guisando, 1
Vera Cruz (Church of), 251
Vilches, 124, 289
Villacastín, 263
Villanueva del Arzobispo, 160, 246
Villanueva de la Jara, 165, 180
Villacarrillo, 160, 166

West Indies, 254

Yébenes, 119
Yepes, 1
Yuste, 20

Zamarramala, 264
Zapardiel, R., 9
Zarzuela, 119
Zocodover, Plaza de, 100, 113, 114
Zofraga, 20